

T H E I M A G E
OF BOTHE CHVRCHES,
HIERVSALEM AND BABEL,
VNITIE AND CONFUSION.
OBEDIENC AND SEDITION.

By, P. D. M.



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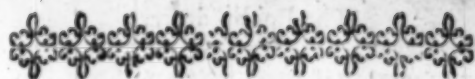


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Marth. Kellison



TO THE HIGHE
AND MIGHTIE PRINCE,
CHARLES PRINCE
OF VVALES,
DVKE OF CORNVVALE,
EARL OF CHESTER, &c.



YRE,

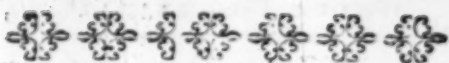
*It haith euer bean the custome
of England, at the Marriage
of the Prince, to present vnto
hym a contription, beneuolenc,
and a free-vvill offering, as a token of her ioye.
And therfor I haue presumed, among the rest,
to offer to your Highnes the poor oblation of
Virgils Shepehard, mitia poma, Castaneas
nuces; ouer of my deuvtie, seruice, and loyaltie
to you. and the rather, because this first Scene:
of your actions abroad in the vvorld, vpon the
high Stage of gloria (your iournie into Spayne,
and your marriage in a familie vnde nescit
aliquid mediocre nasci:) haith afforded
hear, manie occasions of discourse to euerie
man in his humor, (for it is proper to the
multitud to talk de ente & non ente, and to
be curious to know anie thing but that they
should*

The Epistle dedic.

should know.) And bycaus also at your return, you may peraduentur fynd manie that like vvaigermen, wil look forward and you backward: after to censure that which is best doon, then able to apprehend the reasons why it is doon. Therfor to stopp the mouth of Poli-pragmus, and draw this flood of discourses into the right chanel, that neither the course, nor the cause may be mistaken and that men may learn rather to obey, then dispute of Arcana Imperij: I have been bound to touch upon some poynts and reasons for the match, (quod felix faustumque fit.) A storm of tongues, can not shake vertue, nor cancel the records of fame: and unpartialie suum cuique pretium posteritas rependet. Great persons ar like the planets, the more glorie they haue, the less rest they haue: cloudes oft overshad ouer them, but the beams of vertue breake ouer at last. And bycaus that building is perpetuall, we hear God layeth the foundation: your H. can not doe a more heroicall act, then to be a Mecenas to religion, (yf not to geue it privilege, yet to get it libertie:) and sollicitu Cyrus, that Israel may return, and build up their temple. So shall they be obliged to pray for the lyfe of Cyrus; and to write your H. name, upon their alters and Church doores, that Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

Your H. most humbl heads man.

G R A-



GRATÆ POSTERITATI.



ENTLE reader, I present vnto the in lieu of a preface, a most ingenious inuention (borrowed from our English Lucan) full of iudgment and proper to my argument. The which (iudiciouslie conceaued will serue as a fit introduction, to illustrate this discourse: and as a fayre portall to let the in with more delight, into this great *amphitheater*, whear thou shalt see the tragedies and tumults of this latter age, (for the quarrel of religion) as trewlie represented as they wear acted.

The reason of the Poeme is this. The world haith bean ever (tho most of late) possessed with thre euil spirits, combined together to break the peace: curiositie, singularitie, and faction. The first is the moother of innouation, the root from whence springs all *fancia, heresies, opinionum commenta*. The second nurces that islew, and as the harbinger of ambition, taketh vp such harts, as ar fittest to lodg presumption and Philautia. Euer in loue with it self onelie, and contempt of others: seducing men by new opinions of applause, as yf it onelie had bean created to guide the Charriot of

GRATÆ POSTERITATI.

the sonne. Faction, (wonnand corrupted by the other,) is the champion of them both, to defend the monsters they beget, masked vnder the formes of truthe and reformation. Curiositie, bred in the brayne, by pestilent vapors rising from a proud stomach) makes a *quere*, and *quare*, of all principles, and receaued Truthe.

Singularitie, apprehending the theoremes of curiositie, as a censor and Dictator will iudge and rule all, and labour to steale the harts of men, and perswade ther fowles, that *eritis sicut dij*. Faction, as *flagellum Dei* armeth them both with powre to afflict all ther contradictors. None of them ar apt to obey, and singularitie will cōmand, making her own iudgmēt her idol: and yet it is commonlie, like a tombe of glorie full of rotten bones, or like a fayr eye to show, and yet purblynd at hand. But faction ever pretendeth zeal of spirit, which if it become conqueror shoves no mercie: yf subdued, no patienc: how ever mutinous, and a boutefew. These ar the thre furies, that torment the world at this instant: that *Triceps Cerberus* that sett opē Helgates, to fill the world with impostors, seducers and calumniation. Yf yow ask me *quorsum hæc?* read this discourse, and therby yow shall learn how to applie them. *Cane & vale.*

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EX L. VI. OF THE CIVIL
warrs between Lancaster and york,
by S. Daniel.

F Earre Nemesis, moother of fate and chainge.
Swordbearer of the eternall providenc &c.
Turne her stearn look at last into the west,
As greaved to see on earth such happie rest.

And for Pandora calleth presentie
Pandora lowes fayr gift, that first deceaued
Poor Epimetheus in his imbecillitie
That thought he had a vvdondrous boon receaued
By meanes whereof Curious mortalitie,
Vvas of all former quiet, quite bereaued:
To whome being come, Deckt with all qualities,
The vvarathesfull goddess, breaks out, in this wise.

Dost thou not see in what secure estate
Those flourishing fayr western partes remaine
As if they had made covenant with fate
To be exempted, free from others payne,
At one with ther desires, friends with debate,
In peace with Pryde, content with ther owne gayne,
Ther boundes containe ther mynds, ther mynds applyed,
To haue ther boundes with plentie beautified,

*The oration
of Nemesis.*

Deuotion (moother of obedienc)
Bears such a hand on ther credulitie:
That it abates the spirit of ominencie,
And busies them with humble pietie.
For see what works, what instant expenc
What monuments of zeale they edifie:
As if they would, so that no stop vwearforund
Fill all with temples; maik all, holie ground.

But we must coole this all-voleauing zeale
That haith enioyed so fayr a turn so long, &c.
Dislike of this first by a grece shal steale,
As upon forvles of men perswaded wrong,
And that the sacred power, which thou haith wrought,
Shall geue her self the sword to cutt her throat.

Go therfor thou with all thy stirring trayns,
Of Swallowing sciences (the gifts of graefe)
Go loose the links of that foule binding chayns
In large this vniuersall release.
Call vp mens spirits, that simplicitie retain
Enter ther hearts, and knowlede maik the theafe,
To open all the doers, to let in light,
That all may all things see, but what is right.

Opinion ar me, against opinion (growne)
Maik new born contradiction still arise,
As yf Thebes forwnder Cadmus tongues had seruen
In stead of teathe for greater mutinies:
Bring new defended faith against faith knowen
VVarie the foule with contrarieties
Till all religion become retrograde,
And that fair tyre the mask of sinne be mayde.

And better to effect a speache end,
Let ther be forwrd, two fatal instruments
The one to publish, the other to defend
Printing. Impious contention, and prouvd discontent.
Maik that inflamed characters may send
Abroad to thousand, thousand mens intents,
And in a moment, may dispatch much more
Then could a world of penne perform before.
VWhereby all quarrels, titles, secrets,
May unto all be presentlie mayd knowne,
Factions prepared, parties allured to rise,
Sedition under fayr pretences fortime:
VWhereby the vulgar may become so wise
That with a self presumption ouergrowne
They may of deapest misteries debate,
Controuert ther betters, censure acts of state.

And then when this disorderd mischeaf shal
Haue brought confusion in each misterie,
Call'd vp contempt of states in generall,
And ripend the humour of impietie:
Connes: Then take the other engine vpherrish all
They may torment ther self wrought misterie,
And scourge each other in so strainge a wise
As tyme or tyrants neuer could denise, &c.

BABEL,



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BABEL, OR,
MONARCHOMACHIA
PROTESTANTIVM.

NOT manie yeares since, *Reasons for
the match
with
Spayne.*
vpon the divulging of a
letter vvritten by mai-
ster Aldred, against the
match with Spayne: and
of that scandalous libel
against the embassador
Count Godomer; as also by the instigation of
some vvhote-spoors in ther pulpits, (men
oft of more seruor, then iudgment:) The
people of London, vvas much incensed to
snarle and murmur, euen at the verrie name
of Spayne: and euerie artificer presumed, as
an *Aristarchus*, to censure the king for
that negotiation, as for an error of state,
vvch vwear like to cast the vvhole: bodie of
the kingdome into a distemper. As yf the
kings Zeale to the realm and to his issew,
had bean vnnaturallie frozen, and his
iudgment had fayled hym; and that those
A great

great planets of the counsel, had also lost their light and erred in their course. Whereupon I was urged, by diuers of my good friends, to vwrite the Apologie of that actiō, and proceeding: by cause somme of them had hard me, deliuer, not onelie a full answer to all the objections of the contrarie faction, but also diuers reasons in defense thereof, founded vpon a rock and growndwork subiect to no battrie, nor undermining.

And to speak trevvlie and freelie: the benefites, vvhich the realme may reape by that match, at so maine and so aduantages; as I wish yt rather doon, then disputed on. For it setteth a firme peace betweean, both the kingdomes; & *aliquid amplius*, then they apprehend, vvhich oppugn yt: Traffick shal therby be established and encreased; the seas, by a concursens of both the kings, may be purged and cleared, from Turks and pyrates. The kingdome shal also be again stored and enriched, vvvith theasour & coyne, (yf it belocked vp *infra quatuor maria*, and not stil offred to that Idol of *Cambaiā*.) The crown shalbe disingaged, from a burdensome vveight of debts, and consequentlie the subiects ar like to be much eased of contributions and taxes.

And

Monarchomachia.

And is the renewing and confirmation of the treaties, vvith the house and Princes of Burgondie, to be accompted, as a Cypher? or is it nothing to haue so great a Monarch, as the king of Spayne, a firme allie and frend, vvhome England knoweth, vvhat it is to haue an enemie? It is trevv, that England vvas neuer so full of moonie, as it vvas by spoyles and depredation, betvveen the yeares 1576. and 1590. but how dearlie had that prochase bene bought, yf god (vvho had predetermined, to dispose the crowne of England, to her islew, vvho had suffred deathe and disgrace for his glorie,) had not mayd the vvynnds, and sea fight for England.

Virginia (a Colonie now, to be tenderlie regarded) shall hearby, setle her staples and mart, vvith more securitie: and aduanceth traffick, both by a safer passage, and entercours vvith the Ilands. But aboue all arguments, nothing mooueth me more, then that is for the honor, *Safetie*, and commoditie of *Prince Charles* (the darling of England) which euerie trevv Patriot, is bownd in cōscienc, to further and aduance. But so we shall be sayd to leaue Holland in the briars, (an old and assured frend, and of powre to assist the realm, vpon all occasions.) god grant the prince may neuer

stand in need, to vse them: and remeniber, how small furtherans, may rather how great hindrance, they haue beane to the traffick of this realme: and vvhhat great losses and dammage, by ther meanes our merchants haue sustained in the *Indies, Moscovie, & Greenland*. I need not tell yow, how chargeabl a neighbour, they vveare, and how vnsecure a frend; euer preferring france; and for England, *cum namini obtrudi potest, itur ad me*. And not vvith standing vvise men may easilie discern, vvhat fauor they may yet reap, at his maiesties hands: yf they deserue not the contrarie, by inconsiderate courses.

But, vvhat cawse can they iustlie pretend, that repyne and murmur, at the name of Spayne? They obiecte the sin, the curse, and the disparagement, to match vvith a Catholick. What is the reason for that barr? bycause the Iewes might not be tollerated, to match vvith the Ammorigites; nor religions persons, vvith the prophane. That opinion tasteth too much of Iudaisme and the Tabnud, the barr is remooued, for now vve are vnder the law of grace; bothe Iewes and gentiles; circumcision and vncircumcision, at all vnited to Christ by faith and Charitie, and incorporated into his bodie and Church.

The

The Iewes might not marrie any of their trybes, for the promise was made to Abraham and his seed, which was not to be stayned with vnpure blood, and a commixtion of paganisme: but now the promise is alreadie performed, and the iudicial law is abrogated. Yea, but that sheweth, that god disliketh, that his Children, should be defiled with the mixture of a superstitions people. Trewe, but, who are the superstitions, and which is the true religion, is an other question. Bothe are Christians, both are baptized in that name, bothe laye hold on the promises, testaments and the gospel, bothe saye one *Pater noster*, and one *Credo*; both reuerence the 4. first general counsels but who is the Catholick, is *filius Christi*, of the surer syde, by the moother Church. And of the elder howse. Besides, is it so strainge, to heare that a protestant should match with a Catholick? To passe over Queene Elizabeths treatie with Monsieur, ded not Henrie the king of Nauarr, the protector of the reformed churches in France, marrie with the french kings sister a Catholick, in regard of *bonum publicum*, and yet the Elders and consistorie of Geneva, ded not condemne that, nor reprocious hym for that. Ded not the same king

afterward, match his sister (a famous protestant,) with the Duke of Lorraine, (one of the Champions of the Catholick church?) Did not Leues the Prince of Conde, (the Archpillar of the french church) apprehend with great applavse, the overture of a marriage, with Marie, Quene of France and Scotland, which certantie had been performed, yf the Admiral for his own particular, had not layd a block in his vvays. But about all others, it is memorable, and worthie to be remembered, vvhhat a bloodie quarrel it vvas mayd, that king Edvvard the sixt, (the first protestant king in England, might not marrie Quenemarie of Scotland, (vvho vvas euer honored and esteemed a Catholik), and yet the protector vvould haue mayd no scruple of Conscienc in that. Calvinisme and Lutheranisme, as as opposite as Antipodes; and yet they haue matched oft together, and ther lssows at the records thereof. And vvas it then tollerable in the reformed churches, and is it intollerable vvith Spayne? vvhat then is the cawse of this great scrupulositie and feare? Is it for the state of the kingdom, or feare of alterations? The husband is head of the vvife, and tho the Infanta vvear born *in familia Imperatrice*, yet ther is no soverainetie invested

invested in her, she can make no mutation of State, without the consent of the state. And yow haue the les cause to distrust that, hauing a president before of king Philip, who being king of England, yet neither could nor, would attempt anie alteration. And yf the protestants are sure to hold their religion; it is inhumanitie to repyne, that she shall be suffered to enioye hers. No man of honor will offend a ladie of such honor, for a quarrel to her soyle, to her faiche, and her worship of god. What then is the reason, why this match is so distastfull? Is it for the hate and odiousnes of the name and qualities of a Spanyard? surely, *ab initio non fuit sic*, that is neither an ancient quarrel, nor a naturall impression in the English. For in the tyme of king Edward the 3. There was a firm and fixed amitie betwene England and Portingall, and of Lancaster their king descended. And for Castil, they married Constance the Daughter and heyr of kings Peter to Iohn of Gaunt, by whose right, the crown appertained to hym. And his daughter Catharin married with Henry the third king of Castil: and therby, the which remaineth in the Sauoye records, resignation of that crown, was made by Iohn of Gaunt, and so all the controuersie was ended,

between them; and the kings of Spayne as flourishing brainches of the tree and stock of Lancaster haue peaceably possessed that kingdome. So as Prince Charles shal by this match, vvarme his bedd with his own blood.

I may add further that king Henry the seuenth, married his sonn, to king Ferdinando his daughter, to continew the succession of annitie. I, might remember, the treaties of 1505. betvean k. Henry the 7. and king Philip, for the preservation and noorishment of that league and frendship. And how much, and how tenderly Charles the 5. embraced and esteemed yt, vvell appeareth by the Treatie *archioris amicitia* 1541. And by the renoumed treatie of Callice, (the greatest honor that was ever doon, to the crowvn of England:) and by the treatie 1507. betvean Maximilian the Emperor, Charles king of Spayne, and king Henry the 8. by the treaties for entercourse 1515. and 1520. by the treatie of Cambray 1529. and by that famous treatie, 1542. Thus the two kings and kingdomes still renewed, and noorished mutuallie, and vvarmelie, a perfect frendship, and kind correspondencie: till the schisme of Henry the 8. the diuorce, disgrace, and dishonor of Quene Katharine:
and

and the confederation therupon with France, cooled the zeale of this feruent affection. So as ther vvas at that tyme no such cavvse of hatred, disfavou or vnkyndnes, betvean these tvvō kingdomes, nor anie national dislike or contention: vvhich first, brake out and appeared in England in Queene Maries tyme, principallie for the quarrel of a new religion (then five yearres' old). For ther vvas no pretenc but onelie that to maik the breach, which Wyat desyred. Yet this is not the trevv and sole motiue of the grudg: ther' is an impostume, vvhich can not be cured, till it be lanced. The hatred and remembranc of 1588. *Manet alta mente repostum.* It is trevv, *Hinc illa lacrima.* But let vs be indifferent, look vpon the wrongs doone to them, asvvell as ther attemp's for reueng. And vnpartially consider vvho gane the cavvse, and forced them to tak armes? The Moonie intercepted, vvhich the king had sent to the Duke of Alua: the Assistanc of the princ of Orenge, by Gilbert, Morgan and others (ther seconds): the first voiage of Syr Frances Drake: the inuasion and sacking of S. Domingo; the protection of Holland, by the Earl of Leicester: the infinite depredations and letters of mart, (to the vvnspcakable damage of Spayne): the Phillippicz and inue-

inuediues in euerie pulpit: ballets and libels in euerie press against king Philip; weare such prouocations, as flesh and blood, nay crownes and scepters could hardlie digest. I speak nothing of the Portingall voiage, of the surprize of Cales, nor of the Island viage: and can anie vvise man imagine, that the king of Spayne, vvvas not sensible of such indignities? vvvas it not probable, that he vvould send a furie, to Kinsale to reuenge that?

Yet for all, this hostilitie, vvhen his maiestie: cam to the crowne: how frendly and quicklie ded the king of Spayne alter his course, and send the high Constable of Castil, as the doue out of the Ark, to see yf the flood of mallice vvear fallen, and vvith an Oliue branch in his hand, to seek for peace: to maik an Amnestia, and perpetual obliuion of all vnkyndnes past: to couerall offences, to burie all quarrels, and to reconcile the two crowvnes, and the subiects thereof. And surelie Cursed vvill he be, vvho shal seek to violate that peace; and vnder the coolor of religion, to banish peace and Charitie (the badges of religiō.) a malicions Cayn he is, that maiks all contentions perpetuall: and scarfelie can he beholden loyal, that remēbreth onelie the fudes and quarrels with Scotland, and

and not what, and how dear vnto vs it is
now, and so should be ever embraced and
esteamed. Furthermore, the Crowne of
England, shal hearby, be thus more,
beautified and magnified. But staye. My
pen shall intrude no further, into the secret
Cabbienet of counsel, vvhovvrt vvarrant.
Bycause I kovv not; vvhether it be agree-
able to the kings pleasure: or vvhether it be
fit, to be discourfed: and speciallie bycause
I hold it impossible, forme to satisfie so
profovvnd a Iudg, vwithovvthis own in-
structions, and directions. For I consider
vvell, hovv vnsearchable the secrets of prin-
ces are, vvhich lie oft in abisso, and ar too
deape to be sovvnnded by euerie shallow
discourfer. And I remember also, both
what praying and preaching, vvas vsed,
against the match of Quene Elizabeth
vvith Monsieur, (in the like case, and for
feare of alteration, and afterclaps): and
yet some, vvho ded then most impugn it,
vnder pretenc of religion: ded in dead,
least of all other counsellors regard reli-
gion. Syr Philip Sydnie, (like a noble and
vvourthie courtier) laboured by a short
treatise, to present to her Maiesties iudg-
ment, the vnfitnes, disproportion, and
inconuenience of that match, bothe to
her self, and the realme: but he ded it,
pri.

priuatelie, and vvith discreat circumspec-
 tion. *Scmbr*, like a professor of an vnseasoned
 zeal) took the question in hand: and as a
 punishment of his presumption, for seited
 his hand for that, (being rather published,
 to incese and corrupt the people, then to
 aduise and inform the Quene). And tho
 some of the greatest and vviseest consellers,
 ded earnestlie tollicite, and seake to further
 the match, bycause it vvas like both to
 vnite the kingdome of france to England:
 and vvas sure, that the possession of the
 Netherlands, wold also be offred vnto the
 by the prince of Oreng and the states,
 vvhearby England vvas like to be a most
 potent Monarchie: yet was the whole
 bodie of the kingdom cast into much dis-
 temper, onelie with bare concepts and
 sealosies. Some vpon partialitie and faction:
 some for distrust of the practises of France:
 some for ther own or ther friends, sinister
 ends and ambition: as I am perswaded,
 even in this case ther ar men possessed, with
 the same diseases and humors. And yf I ded
 not wel know, the nature of the multitude,
 (a beast of manie heads, and mad braynes:)
 I should wonder, how they durst oppose
 the desseins of a king of that experienc,
 and iudgment, who halth managed this
 busienes, with so great warienes, caution,
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and prudence, that this great Coniunction can portend no other effects, then honor, comfort, and prosperitie. He is the fittest to iudg of his own cause; and his own cause, being the Commonwelths cause; yf anie private man, should arrogate to hym self, either more wisdom to controll his proceeding; or an opinion of more affection to the state: or more providence to foresee and preuent, daingers therby: I see not which waye he can avoyde, not to fall into the custodia of the court of wards, till he come to hym self again. But to leaue this matter, as a deliberatiue, which requirerh a Crassus, or Antonius; I will come to that which, gaue the occasion, of this treatise.

Ther met at a merchants howse in London, (where merchants, for ther table, and hospitalitie, beare worthilie the bell aboute all merchants in Europe) diuers persons of excellent qualitie, met there, in a garden, before dinner, T. Aldreds letter, the pamphlet aforesayd, and some strainge rumors, and seditious practises from Amsterdam, being perused, examined and discussed; A fyne Chaplain to a great person, and one of the merchants acquaintance, cam into the companie; and hearing but a litle of this discourse (which at that tyme

The occasion of this treatise.

was

*The minist-
ers gratia.*

was the subiect of all tabletalk) with much vehemencie, he ded affirm this match, to be like to bread great incombrance, and mischeafe to the kindome: bothe in regard, of the encrease.

1. Of Catholiques in the Realme, and in respect of Spayne, (which he ignorantlie called an ancient euemie.)

2. Whearupon he took occasion, to rage and raile bitterlie against the church of Roome, (as the Seminarie of all commotions in Europe, and the Contriuier and plotter of all treasons in England.

3. And (bycause he wvould show his Rhetorick in the ruff; and omit nothing, which might exasperate the companie against the Catholicks: he alledged in thunder and vehemencie, the death of king Edvard, (and that fillielie:) the manie conspiracies against Quene Elizabeth: and speciallie that horrible proiect of the Gunpowder treason, by a few priuate hotespurres, (vvhich in iustice is rather to be butied vvith the offenders; then objected and imputed to innocent men, vvho generallie vvith great sorrow abhorre the memorie of it.)

4. Besides he vrged, that princes be bothe disquieted, and endaingered, by the excommunications and bulls of popes, by
the

the Catechismes, and doctrine of the Iesuits. And that the subiects of England, are withdrawn by them, from ther obedience, to ther prince: and are so full of treacheries, and disloyalte, as no nation can be paralleled with them.

5. Yow may think also, that he forget not, to arm hym self with the authoritie, of D. Murtons censure, (for which I think he ded not studie much) *WVe may now as wel expell a whyte Ethiopian, as a loyal subiect of that religion.* He produced a book entituled. *A discomerie of Romish doctrine, in the case of conspiracie and Treason* Whearin the Author playeth his maister prize, against the professors of the Catholick religion, with an Hyperbole of criminal accusations, and scandalous imputations, able to driue men into dispayre of the kings grace vnto them, and to bread in his maiesties Royal hart, a diffidenc of them.

6. He vrged parson whytes, vndiscreat vntruth, and vncharitabl sentence, that all ther religion is full of doctrine, whence proceed monsters of Conspiracies against the state, and that they teach men to murder the king, and blow vpth the parliament. And that since Bells tyme, ther was never such a raue nous Idol, as the preasts and seminaries.

7. He

7. He ded not omit the like allegation owt of Ormerode, the picturemaker, who vpon erroncus misconceauing, condemned that singuler and renoumed Doctor. Allen, for affirming, that princes might be slayne by ther subiects, by the 25. Numeri.

8. And so he concluded all, with that Rhetoricall sentenc, of monsieur Lewes Baylie in his book of the practise of Pietie, pag. 783. which he produced with such ostentation, as if it wear able to cast all the learned societie of the fathers, into a fitt, of a quartane.

Iesuits and preasts (saith he) ar sent to vvithdraw subiects from ther allegiance, to mooue inuasion, and to kill kings: yf they be Saints, vvho be Scythians? VVho ar Canibals, yf they be Catholicks? Which conclusion, for the art, and the witt, worthilie deserueth, both a præmium and a Plaudite, sic pueri crepundia gestant.

After this, delicate oration they went to dinner: and presentlie after dinner, the minister departed in great haist. Therupon all the companie vehementlie desyred one gentlman of ther companie, (who ded well vnder stand the world, and was a freeman not obliged to anie religious orders, but as *filius Ecclesie*) to deliuer his opinion of

of the ministers Inuectiue. Wich he was, at last contented, at ther importunitie, and for the satisfaction of ther Conscienc, to vndertaikē: and which with his license and information, I taik vpon me, as his *Amanusis* and secretarie, to set downe, and deliuer the same to yow.

After a long pawse, quoth he; *Clodius accusat Machos, Catalina Cethegum.* Is not this ridiculus? who can endure to heare a Gracc hus, complain against sedition? I perceauē by the premisses, that the protestants set this down, as a Decree against Catholiks, and labor to imprint that, in the harts of the people, as a perpetual scandall and stayne, That the Catholik religion and doctrine, is daingerous and preiudicial to the safetie of kingdomes, and an enemie to Sooueraintie: and so they censure it, as neither allowable, nor tollerable in a wel gouerned monarchie. Now this being a matter of so great importance, as it is in dead to be esteemed (for *Querelam Ecclesie, quilibet Catholicus facit suam:*) I will endeavor therfor, to sift owte the truthe, and what is therein to be holden, for an infallible conclusion: aswel to iustifie them, as to resolue my self in that poynte, which haith mayd manie good and vertuous men, in Englad, to stagger much.)

The trewe
state of the
Quarrel.

B

And

And that I may not wander in my discourse, nor leaue yow in a labor in the: I will set downe, the trew state of the question, to be argued, (as they propownd it.

1. First, *whether to be a Catholick, who professeth deuine reuerence, to the church of Róome* and to be a trew subiect to his Prince and Countre, be incompatible or no?

2. Secondlie yf they be incompatible, *whether that incompatibilitie, be generallie in all states, or but in some particular states, and kingdomes? whether originallie, and euer, or but at some tymes onely?* and *Whether simpliciter ad malum in se. or accidentally onelie, as malum prohibitum, vpon consideration, of particuler circumstances, and enacted by particuler statutes and lawes, vpon occasion.*

3. And Lastlie, *Whether Lutheranism and Calvinism, be not more incompatible with loyaltie, more opposite, and almost contradictorie, and that ab origine?* ffor the better deciding and manifestation of these high poynts: I wil maik my first discourse, vpon the last Question: and wil examin, whether the factions and tumults, which haue filled all the kingdomes of Europe, with blood and Calamitie, these hundred yeaeres; haue sprung from the opinions, practises

practises and procurement of the Catho-
liks, as an inseperable propertie alwaies to
them: Or els rather, was this mischeate, and
the egg of this Cockatrice, layd first at
wittenbergh (for the which they worthilie
of late celebrated ther Iubilee,) hatched
at Smalcald, and fostered and Nourished
at Geneua.

And this poynt, I will argue, not as a
deuine, (for I will not arrogate so much to
my self) but historicallie, sincearlie, and
legallie: as one that desyres, to defend the
loyaltie of religious and innocent men,
rather then ther opinions, and assertions:
which they can best mantaine them selfs,
and which so manie ages haue embraced
with dew reuerence: and that plainlie, and
with integritie, and truthe (which is ever
best graced, with her own beautie, and
needs no paynting and coolers.)

In the yeare of our lard 1514. The whole
estate of the church, enioyed peace, and
ther ancient priuiledges: all princes with
great deuotion wear nurcing fathers and
protectors thereof. No storm ded shake it,
no schisme ded break the vnitie: ther was
harmonie and good correspondenc, (for
matters of religion and faithe) between the
church of Roome, and the princes and
common welths of all Christendome: and

*The peace
of the
church
1514.*

till that tyme, thorough owt all Europe, speciallie in England from S. Augustines comming hither: this quæstion, was never mayd, nor proposed either in the schooles; or courts of common lawe.

Luther.

Anno 1517. Martin Luther, an Augustin Friar, (a man of a turbulent spirit, learned, and yet no famous Clark,) was the first, that broke this long and settled peace: who hauing interposed hym self in that fatall busines of the Indulgences, (sent by Pope Leo the tenth into Germanie) not properlie appertaining to hym, but as a proctor for the order; he begon first to inuaign against the iniurie doone to his fraternitie, against the abuses and couetousnes of the collectors, and against ther authoritie which ded nominate them, and required such a leuie of mooine, in that nature. This was a popular, and plausible introduction, to win the vulgar sort, who can not endure the pressure of extraordinarie contributions; and alwaies hate, the rapine of such collectors. And therfor he quiklie fownd manie fauorers: but much more, when he began to exclaym against the ambition of prelats, the riot and disorders of religious men; taxing some for tyrannie, some for auarice, some for idlenes and ignorance, and all for corruption and abuses.

Thus

His results.

Thus he stood in armes, and as a challenger for a few yearres, onelie against the defects of the cleargie, and with owt much dainger, for diuers good men conceaued at first, that he had onelie intended and sought reformation of disorders; renouation of discipline, punishment of irregularitie, and amendement of lyfe. And that not with owt somme cause, tho without good order. For S. Hildegardis, had foretould, a storme to the church for ther sinnes: Sa-uonarola a Dominican had wakened Italie, with predictions of terror: friar Thomas of Guien, prophesied, *a va, va*, a scourge, a desolation to Bourdeaux, an inundation of miserie, to France and the world.

So then after that Luther ded synd, *populo placere quas fecisses fabulas*. (as noueltie is euer at first wel entertained in the world, and that the people applauded his actions and desseins, and that manie of the best wits (speciallie those, that wear bred and framed in Erasmus his school, wear inclined to second hym: and perceauing also, that some of the greatest Princes in Germaine, ded geue hym both hearing and harting, in his proceadings: The vayne glorie thereof, raised the ambitious conceipt of hym self, manie straynes hygher then he was in dead; all men encouraging

*Hu sedi-
tions do-
ctrina.*

hym, who wear tickled with new fancies and conceits, (which syde alwaies carrieth most voyces:) for natures most affected to leuitie and chainge, are best pleased with innovations. Therupon, as a man sick in his spirits, and of a fierie disease, he begon to raue, and defame all church gouernement. He abandoned his cloyster, cast of his habit, and renounced all obedienc to his superiors. For now he preacheth against the whole cleargie, against the tyrannie and superioritie of the Bushop of Roome (whose authoritie in matters ecclesiastical, was then generallie holden for sacred): perswading the people, not to render anie obedienc to them. The Pope he tearmed *Sathanisimum papam*, messer *Asino*: the Prelates, he called blind guides; the religious, *Porcos*, and candles set vnder a bushel: thus seaking, *non purgare abusum, sed tollere ordinem; Truticum cum Zizanio euellere studebat*. And why, ded he preach such homelies to the people? By cause, so should they (sayd he) stil liue in darknes, and in the shadow of death, with owt the light of the gospel: and be fed, and misled by ignorant guides, and drie nurces, and stil remain in *Egipt* (the howse of bondage) and in the captiuitie of *Babilon*. This Prologue, mayd attentive auditors, by a fayre shewe and promise

se of great matters : then he begon the Tragedie, acted with incredible sedition and insolencie. His whole studie was now to demolish the walls of the church, and abolish all ecclesiastical orders: and so (by participation) to shake the verrie foundations of the state.

In this humor, he fed hym self, with great hopes, to conquer the world with the sword of the spirit; and to subdew the Pope (whome he was the first that affirmed to be absolutelie, Antichrist, the man of perdition, and insignis præstigiator.)

And the rather bycause now 1519. Maximilian the emperor was latelie dead, (whose power, and wisdom, he had great cause, and worthilie, to feare): and Charles the fifth, was chosen to succceed hym (a yong Prince not twenty yeares of age) whome he hoped to persvade, to ruine the Papaltie, to keap his court at Roome, and maik the castl of St. Angelo subiect to his commands. And then he dreamed, that he might easilie reforme the church and cast it in a new mould. Speciallie being assured, to haue the Duke of Saxonie, old Iohn Frederic the elector, his secret friend and patron: who for his riches, strength, alliance, and abilities, was farr superior to anie Prince in the empyre.

I Luther
bu: again?
the Bus-
hops, and
Bishop-
ricks

What followed then? obserue his course, and iudge vnpartiallie, whether it was modest and dewtiful, or seditious and arrogant. First he proclaymes open warr against the Bishops of Germanie, endeuoring to suppress the authoritie, abrogate the iurisdiction, and maik them odious and contemptible to the world. Therfor in his booke, *contra Statum Ecclesie, & aduersus falsum nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*: among his works printed at Iena, tom. 2. Latin. He sends out his bull, against the sayd Bishops in these wordes. *Attendite vobis Episcoporum umbra. Doctor Lutherus, vult vobis bullam, & edictum legere, non valde teneris vestris auribus placitum.* His lecture was worth the hearing. First he vseth an exhortation: Secondlie, he geues direction what the godlie auditors should doe: and lastlie his benediction, and the blessing wich shall follow, by obeying his counsell. And this was his graue and modest counsel. *Omnes, quicunque opem ferant, bona, fama & sanguinem in hoc impendant, honoremque suum in hoc exponentes, ut II Episcopatus Pompatici deuascentur, rursus remoti & alieni ab omni functione Apostolica: totumque hoc Satanicum regimen Episcoporum extinguatur: Hi sunt dilecti filii Dei, & verè Christiani, obseruantes precepta Dei,* who soeuer will hazard ther liues honor and for-

fortune, in so Christian a work, as to root
 out and destroye all Bushops and Bushop-
 ricks, Satans ministers : and pul vp by the
 roots all ther authoritie and iurisdiction :
 these ar worthie to be honored and estea-
 med the trew children of god, and such as
 obey his commandements. And in libro
 contra Siluest. Prieratem. tom. 1. Lat Wit-
 tebergh. *Si fures furca, latrones gladio, here-
 ticos igne tollimus: Cur non magis hos magistros
 perditionis, hos Cardinales, hos Papas, & totam
 istam Romanam Sedomiam collumiam, omnibus ar-
 mis impetimus, & eorum sanguine manus no-
 stras lauemus?* So hear he wil fight against
 the whole ecclesiasticall Hierarchie; and
 wash his hand in the blood of Bushops. But
 saith he *obiciunt periculum esse ne excitetur,
 tumultus: en respondeo, an ideo negligetur verbum
 Dei, & peribit populus?* as yf Luthers doctrin
 with out tumult could not be preached.
 Martin Marprelat of England, and Iohn
 Marprelat of Scotland, wear not possessed
 with so wicked a spirit, and tho they wear
 mad enough, yet they camm not to the
 height of this furie. Let Brunus, Minsin-
 ger, and Gayl, iudg: whether this sermon
 and proclamation of Luthers, will beare an
 action of sedition and conspiracie: and
 whether it weare consonant, to the pea-
 ce and lawes of the empyre. For hearby the
 pro-

people was taught and animated, to pull down the principal pillers of the state: to overthrow the ecclesiastical regiment, the Archbushops of Ments, Coolen, and Trier, the Primate of Magdeburgh, the Archbushop and Princ of Saltzburgh, the great master of Ppussia, Wirtzburgh, and manie others, who haue voyce and place in the diet, and a power full hand in the gouernment. Think yow, that this can be avowed to be the act of a loyall subiect of the empyre, or varrantable by anie lawes or example in a ciuil gouernmēt: that a priuate man should thus insolentlie attempt of hym self against all authoritie, for a subiect against the cheafe magistrates; for a sheap to depose the pastor; and by such meanes and aduise, to stirr vp rebellion, and insurrection against persons of that qualitie, and inso high place and calling. Neither ded he euer cease, or geue over practising, til effectualle he procured the expulsion and banishment both of theiurisdiction and name of Bushops, out of Saxonie, Hellsia, Wirtenberg, and whear soever he preuayled. which paradox I am assured the Lord Bushopes in England, will not allow: nor patronise such seditious proceeding, for ther own safetie, and ther Baronnies.

^{2.}
Against the

But hear he stayed not, he proceeded further:

ther : He took vpon hym to deface *Canon*
and burn, the Canon Lawes, Indulgences, *Levitic.*
and bulles of Popes, at wittenberg. Yf yow
ask, Quo warranto? he ded that, by his own
authoritie ; his own priuate spirit, was his
commission. And the pretenc of the gos-
pell, was his Apologie. But was that a suffi-
cient warrant? Though most of the Canon
Lawes, wear the constitutions of Popes,
(whome he now both contemned, and con-
demned :) yet some wear decreed by
prouinciall Synodes, some by generall
counsellis, and all of them wear ratified, bo-
the by præscription, generall approbation
of that contrie, and the Imperial Lawes.

And so it appeareth, they could not
be lawfullie, and orderlie suppressed in the
empyre, withwt the authoritie of the em-
pyre. But as he ded seak to abrogate the
Canon Lawes ; so he ded also vilche, and
abase the Ciuil lawes of Germanie, as shall
more pertinentlie appeare hereafter.

Furthermore, as yf it weare to bring in
Barbarisme, and to pull owte the eyes of the
Almains, that they might not see his follie,
and errors : he endeauored, to abandon,
deface, and ruine all vniuersities. Which
Oxford and Cambredg wil hardlie belea-
ue, yf I could not produce his own words.
Libro contra Anabrosium Catharinum, he writes
thus,

3.
Against
vnuerſi.
11th

thus, *Ut videatur ad Euangelium funditus extinguendum, nec asinus, nec efficacius inuenisse Satan commentum quam erigen larum vniuersitatum.* Be vniuersities, then an inuention of the deuel? and a subtil deuise, to oppresse the gospel? Is it not likelie? That no man might coolor and excuse this grosse paradox, with some fayre pretence; as they oft labor to doe;) read his opinion, libro de Abroganda Missa; there he dissuades the people, from sending ther children to the vniuersities, and generallie condemnes them all by these words. *Academias, per Idolum Moloch figuratas puto.* Vniuersities, resemble the Idol Moloch. By wat reason? bycause saith he, *Ex isto enim fumo, prodeunt iste locusta, qua omnes Cathedras occupant.* Would he then haue all vniuersities suppressed, onelie bycause therein the Catholick religion, and school diuinitie is taught? no in dead, for why ded he shut vp the schoole doores, for manie yeares together? why ded he neglect the teaching and education of yowth, in his own religion, and profession? why ded he banish Tullie and Aristotle, who medl with no religion? why ded Carolostad go to the plough rather, then he would read a lecture more. Nay to conclude, his fidus Achates, Philip Melancton, in his book called Didimus saith.

Equi-

Equidem sapientem virum, iudico fuisse vvicelsum Anglum, qui omnium primus, quod ego sciam, vidit vniuersitates, fuisse Sathana Synagogas. And this I wonder maister Philip Wold so generallie affirme, and approoue wiclefs error, that vniuersities arr the Synagogue of satan, being so skilfull an artist hym self.) But at the beginning they wear all vn-certain, what to mantain for sownd and trew doctrine: and aboue all, Melancthon was euer an Academick, and never long cōstan-te: and that yow may see, by this, that libro ad waldenses, he recanted that opinion, and reuoked his error; which *Carolostrate*, neuerded.

So as yow may, perceauē, that at ther first rising, and preaching reformation, the spirit had not in manie yeares fullie illumina-ted ther vnder standing, nor directed ther iudgment, with full perfection: as he ded the prophets, and the apostles, and S. Paul, Hearby it appeareth, that at thre-blowes, Luther laboured to cut down, the thre great Cedars of the empyre, *The cleargie, The Canon Lawes, and the vniuersities.* For with owt vniuersities, the cleargie cowlde not be instructed: nor with owt Lawes be gouerned: and so being necessa-riilie chayned together, he could not break the link with owt subuerting all (for he ded
not

not seek a reformation of them, but a totall extirpation and destruction, as appeared by the Bushopricks.)

*His behaviour to
Caesar and
the Princes.*

And this I dare affirme, that all the *Hundred Graueamina Germanie*, presented to the Emperor Charles, at Norembergh: ded not containe, articles of that dainger, greauances of that loss, and such an oppression of the state, as the se thre had beane.

And yet a greater mischeafe, followes. For now I will lay down his positions of state and declare to the world a prodigious inciuitie, and his arrogancie, disobedience, and presumption, towards the Emperor, and the Princes of Germanie. Desirying your patience, that I may but a litle digress to maik his spirit more plainlie appeare in his likenes: and how immodestlie and
Of k. H. 8. vnreuerentlie he ded esteame *Regiam Maiestatem*, by the exampl of his vsage of king Henry the VIII. of England *libro contra Regem Ang'la*. He calls king Henry in his preface, *An enuious madd fool, full of Daftardie*, and with owt one vaine of princelie blood in his bodie.

After that, he saith, *He is a Basillike, to whome I denounce damnation.*

And pag. 335. *This glorious king*, lyeth stowtly like a king. (Note his moralitie, for which he is famous.) And again, he is
 a liying

a liijng Scurra, covered with the title of a king, and a chosen vessel of the Deuel. And pag. 338. *Thou art no more a king,* but a sacrilegious theaf. And most sloouenie and like hymself, pag. 333. *Ius mihi erit Maiestatem tuam stercore confpergere, &c.* I am ashamed, to proceed, I will omitt infinite, and these ar too manie: which it wear incredible, to haue bean vttered by the Elias of Almain, but that both his own books ar extant, and S. Thomas Moor, (the most famous Chancelor of England) recapitulates them, with a number more, in his latten work against Luther, printed at Loouain, 1566.

And these places, I haue selected and cited: not onelie bycause they touched Henry the eigh:, as he was a king (and at that tyme, one of the most mightie and Renoumed Princes in Europe:) but bycause also, therby yow might discover the modestie and Holie disposition of Doctor Martin, and how like a man he was, to preach and persuaue obediēc to magistrates.

Now note, how he ded behaue hym self, to the princes of the Empyre: and whether he ded geue to Cæsar (his soueraine lord) that which is Dew to Cæsar? It is worthie the obseruation, to see his religious and ciuil respect of an emperor. *Li-*

bro contra duo mandata *Casaris*, he writes. *Turpe quidem est Casarem ac Principes, manifestis agere mendacijs.* It is, a shame for *Cæsar*, and the Princes, to lye so palpable, and in the same book, and with the same spirit, sath he, *Deus mihi dedit negotium, non cum hominibus ratione præditis: sed Germanica bestia debent me occidere.* (Meaning, that the Princes, the Sauages and beasts of *Germanie*, should murder hym.) But he shewes therin, yet more gall and bitternes, *Oro cunctos pios Christianos, dignentur simul rogare Deum pro eiusmodi excacatis Principibus, quibus nos magno ira sua furore corripuit, nullo pacto eos sequamur, vel in militiam ire, vel dare aliquid contra Turcas: quodoquidem Turca decies prudentior, probiorq; quam sunt Principes nostri, quid salibus factus, contra Turcam prospere eueniat, qui Deum tam alie tentant, & blasphemant?* was this but a Peccadilio, *Cæsar*, and the Princes, to be censured with such scandalous comparisns, and reproches? But this is not all, in libro artic. 500. in articulo 367. *Quid ergo boni, in rebus diuinis, vel decernant, vel constituent, tyranni tam impij & prophani?* Before they wear fooles, now he maiks them tyrants: and then he goeth a degree higher still. For libro de seculari potestate, he deliueres his opinion of all princes and kings in general, and how

how they ar to be esteemed: *Scire debes, quod ab initio mundi, rarissima avis est prudens princeps, ac multo rarior probus, sunt communiter, maxime fatui, & nequissimi nebulones in terra.*

And there also, by cause his good meaning might more perspicuouſlie appear, he interprets hym ſelf planilie. *Quis nescit, Principes eſſe carnem Ferinam in Cælo?* As yf

it wear, as great a dayntie as vennieſon, to ſee, that a prince ſhould be ſaued. And in Head of y
March

his book *de bello contra Turcas. Caſarem negat eſſe Caput rei publicæ Chriſtiana, & defenſorem fidei ac Euangelii: & oportere ſanè Eccleſiam, habere alium defenſorem, quam ſunt Imperatores & Reges.* And mark his reaſon, *Eos namque eſſe peſſimos hoſtes Chriſtianismi & fidei.* the which concludes my aſſertion, for he mātains doctrine, oppoſite to all kings: and contemneth government. And as yf he would Vnking and depoſe them; he dothe encourage the people, to draw ther ſwords, againſt all crowns and ſcepters. Therfor lo. 1. *contra Ruſticos*, he ſendeth this greating to the princes.

Sciatis boni Domini, Deum ſic procurare, quod ſubditi, nec poſſunt, nec debent, nec volunt, tyrannidem veſtram ferre diutius. Mark that debent, as a good encouragement to the Bowers.

who can mantaine ſuch Paradoxes, or

C

that

that they proceeded from the spirit of a prophet of god? can anie Lutheran iustifie these wild propositions, or color them with tolerable glosses? Ded euer anie prophets, Apostles, or Martyres, vse such a barbarous libertie of speech, against Nero, Dioclesian, Iulian, tho the greatest persecutors? Ded Elias, rage so madlie against Achab, and Iesabel? S^t Paul gaue hym a better exampl, who vsed Festus with more reuerence a great deale. And v^tith ouer dowbt no Christian and trev^t zeal can be so irregular, so rude, and so intemperately passionate. To geue the lye to Caesar his Soouerain, and the princes, vvas a personal, and an intollerable contempt, yet to proclayme hym and the princes, to be Sauages, Babons and Fooles; Tyrants; blynd buzzards; and that the Turk vvas a vviser and honestest man, then they; vvas a more horrible, scandalous, and seditious assertion. But to geue ouer to the vworld, in print, and dogmaticallie to affirme, as it wear in skorn and hatred of Maiestie and royaltie, that a wise and good prince is as rarelie fownd as a black swann; that commonly kings and princes, be the most Dot ing fooles, and reprobate knaues in the vworld; that they are a damned crew, as yf ther vveare no place in heauen vouchsafed for kings: What is it, by such epithites,
dis

disgraces, and execration, to annichilate and abase the sacred function of kings? to taik the crown from ther heads? to expose Regalitie and ther prerogatives, to mallice and contempt of the people; yf this be not?

But it may be, he ded vse more ciuilitie, and reuerenc, to his frends of the hovv of Saxonie. Surelie for Duke Georg, of Leipswig, he calls hym, the Apostl of Satan: and skorn fullie entitles hym, *Illustissima inclementia vestra*.

And for his, respect, to old Iohn Frederick his protector; it appears by the commission, given by the Duke, to Iohn Plauwitz (a noble man) Hierome Schurffius (a lawyer) Philip Melancthon, and Erasmus Havvbitz; to maik a visitation of Saxonie, (then full of discorders:) for when they returned ther commission, together with the acts of ther visitation, Luther in contempt of them, Trotz (quoth he) eis visitatoribus. An why? onely for ambition. Hovv appears that? *Nescio qua de causa, preterierit me in hoc negotio princeps.* (Lo. in serm. Dominico, inuocant.) And Lo. contra Ambrosium Catharinum, saith he: *Sic licet mihi decretales papa, Conciliorum decreta, Leges & Mandata Imperatoris, omniumque principum, pro libertate christiana, nedam contemnere, sed & conculcare: vestras ne res gestas, preclara*

visitationis, legum vice acceptem? What could draw from hym so vayne and insolent a speech, but ambition? He maiks small reckoning of the emperors mādars, or the imperial lawes aswell as the Canon, *pro libertate Christiana*: and for that also, he hym self must and vwill be iudg, vvhhat to receaue and ratifie; neither the duke, nor his commissioners mist prescribe rules to hym.

I will alledg onelie one place, (*locis comm. class. 4. c. 10. to Spalatinus. Non feram quod ais, non passurum principem, scribi in Moguntinum, nec quod publicam pacem perturbare posses: potius te, & principem ipsum perdam. Si enim creator eius Papa restit, cur cedam creatura? & post. Pulchre vero, non turbandum pacem publicam arbitrarie, & turbandum pacem aeternam Dei? non sic Spalatine, non sic.*) What is this, but ambition? not zeale surerlie, which as it should ever haue faith for a schoolm aister, so it haith Charitie for a guide, and humilitie for a witnes, (whearof heare is verrie small prooffe, and apparenc.)

And by the opinion of Spalatinus, (a famous Lutheran) and of his Lord (the Elector of Saxonie) yow see, that Luther is dissuaded and conselled, from writing against the Archbushop of Ments (an Elector Likewise;) bycause it could not, but disturb and break the peace of the empyre: and

and yet is it to be noted, how Luther reflects with contempt, bothe ther opinions: as yf the peace of God, and the peace of the empyre: the new gospell of Luther, and the old lawes and governement of the empyre, wear not Compatible. Which concludedh the Affirmatiue of the Question, now to be prooued.

For the present, I wil produce owt of the *Cornucopia* of Luther, no more of his irre-
ligious and turbulent Propositions, (suffi-
cient arguments, both of his vnquiet spirit,
and seditious doctrine.) For it is, fitter first
to examin these exactlie; and to discern
how wel the fruits thereof ded realish in
the taist of the people, and what effects
and operation they wrought.

After that the wildbore, had thus vio-
lentlie broken down, the pale of order and
discipline, and rooted vp the vineyard: and
that the vulgar people, had receaued so
pleasing a new gospel, that they wear exem-
pted from all the Canons, and iniunctions
of the church, (mayd to restraine disorder
and licentiousnes:) that trew Christians
wear freed from the captiuitie of Babilon,
and all cōstitutions and ceremonies, which
enthralled and snared the conscienc: that
ther was a more compendions waye fownd
to heauen, by faith onelie, and freedome
C 3 from

from merits, and the heauie burden of good works: that x^oome was Babilon, Bus-hops wear seducers, religious men Idolatours, and the princes wear tyrants, who protected them all :) and that God would not suffer, the poor commonaltie longer to beare so heauie a yoke, and subiection, vnder such oppressors. Vpon these seditious principls, the people begonn to rise, and committ ryots: each man was a drom to an other, each man ded strike an alarum, to root owt so corrupt a cleargie, and to depose so vnworthie princes. The Bowres and paisants of all parts of Germanie, runn accordig to the byas of the tyme, and mayd a generall insurrection. First in Swaben, Then in Franconia, after in Alsatia, and in diuers imperiall townes. They of Franconia, pretended that they took armes, to expell all nobilitie owt of Germanie, to cutt down the Okes of the church, (the Degree of Bushopes:) to abolish the old law and establish a new religion and law. In these tumults, the heads and Tribunes of the people, wear Thomas Muncer, and his Camerado Phiser, and Christophor Schaplerus. Muncer, was an audacious fellow; and of a preast becomed an apostata some report, he was scholler to Carolostad, but Melacthon in his historie, saith,

Summa.

saith, that he cam to Luthers lectures. This man in Alsatia, preached against the Pope, and yet dissented from his maister Luthers doctrine: by cause as the Popes lawes wear too austere, so Luthers gaue to much libertie. There he first preached against the Masse, and against the baptising of children (by cause it was not expresselie commanded in the scriptures:) and that Christ, ded not taikē flesh of the Virgin Marie: and that Magistrates ded loose and forsaikē all ther authoritie, yf they committed mortall sinn; and lastlie, that the people might correct princes yf they offend, (as appeareth by the Centur. 9 and 9. pag. 441. This Muncer, to mark his name powrefull with the people, he bragged that his vocation was extraordinarie, by the reuelation and perpetuall assistance of the holie ghost: and that he had receaued from God, *Gladium Gedeonis, cogere vniuersum orbem, ad nomen Christi regnum instituendum*: to fight for Israel and depose Idolatrous magistrates. Vpon these phantasticall suppositions, he drew the people of Frāconia into the feald: he wonn the town of Winspurg: they slew Count *Lodouic of Helphēsteyn*; and ded either murder, or captiuatē, all the noble men they could encounter. Besides, they sacked and destroyed all churches, and (as

Conradus VVimpin testi fieth) onelie, in that one circle of the empyre, they pilld, pulled down, and spoyled neare thre hundred, monasteries, castles, and forts. And yet these reformers, pretended, that they took armes for edification; is it not lickleie? But for want of victualls and other necessaries, (as multitud and furie, are seldome provident:) they vveare forced to deuide ther camps; and somme of them marched to vwards the Duchie of Wirtenbergh, (vvhich by Truchses, generall of the league of Sweuia, vwear all put to the svword, or to flight:) but the greatest number remained in Franconia. And bycause these tumults, rended so directlie, to a deuastation of all states, and lawes: therfor Iohn (Duke of Saxonie) vvhich had before tollerated *Muncers* preaching in *Alstadt*: and his vnckle Duke George, together vvith other princes, ioyned ther forces together (the emperor being in Spayne): and at *frankhulsen*; mayd a bloodie execution and slaughter of all the Paissants in the camp: Whear Muncer and Dhiser vwear taken, and executed; and aboue a hundred thousand men lost ther liues, in these tumults and rebellion.

Yet could not this feare full vvarning serue, to coole the heate, of those zealous

vvar-

vvarriers; for in Alsatia, they mayd a new
vproare: vvhoe aboute twentie thousand
of them vveare slayne, by the count *Palatine*, and *Anthony Duke of Lorrain*. And
after that, an other multitud put them selfs
in armes, at Petersheim (in the territorie
of vvormes:) vvho vveare likewise defeated
and put to the sword. To conclude, no part
of the bodie of the empyre, was cleare from
that plague of conspiracie: for as the bo-
wers in the contrie, so the common people
in the imperial townes, conspired together
to reforme religion, and to remooue such
magistrates, as supported the old. At *Er-
ford*, the people, degraded and committed
all ther officers. At *Frankfort*, with more
furie, they spoyled the churches, banished
the cleargie, and placed all authoritie and
gouvernement of the cittie, in twentie fovv-
re commoners, (to vvhome they gaue all
command and rule): they created all new
magistrates: mayd new lavves; expelled the
anciēt senators and the whol cleargie, (not
withowt terror, and menaces) and they se-
lected and sett downe fourtie seaven articles,
owt of Luthers gospels, which they decreed
should be religiously obserued and obey-
ed: and which they imparted to ther fraterni-
tie at Coolen, and Mentz, (wheare thre
whole dayes, the people stood in armes to-
gether

gether, locked vp the gates, and mayd them selfs lords and maisters of the citties).

And the same spirit like wise mooued diuers private men, by ther own means, to attempt reformation. So Frances Sicking, a Lutheran, owt of his zeale, (yet some geue owt, that he was incited by Bucer and Oecolampad, to that action) leuied diuers companies, invaded and spoyled the territories of the Bushop of Trier; took by assault a strong place, of the princes possessions, and marched with his armie to the verrie walls of Trier, (purposing to besiege that) withowt anie iust cawse of varr, or particuler quarrell. Whear yf he had preuayled, the riches of that place, and some others depending of that, would both haue encouraged and enabled them to greater attempts. But he was forced to retyre; and so being apprehended, he and his complices wear iustlie attainted, and ther lands confiscated.

And to maik vp the totall some of all the miseries of Germanie, in full measure: this inundation of furie, was so generall, that they mayd all church goods a praye and bootie, broke Downe Cathedral churches, ransacked all monasteries and robbed and subuerted both Bushops and Bushopricks, as Magdeburgh (the seate of the
Primate

Primate of the Empyre) Bream, Lubeck,
and fourteen moe (such is the furie, and
deformite of sedition.) So as the Imperiall
chamber at Spyres, was long afterward
much disquieted, and trowbled, with
Actions, complaynts, and petitions, for
these spoyles: And Charles the Emperor,
hymself was maruelloustie perplexed, how
to taik order for a cessation of these disor-
ders; how to staye the violent course and
torrent of these reformers; and how repa-
ration and satisfaction, might be mayd.
And therfor he ded appoint Commis-
sioners long after (by his edict 1544) to en-
quire of *bona Ecclesia inuasa*; for before he
could not, having had his hands full, and
enoughto doe, to defend, hym self.

All which things, arr recorded and testi-
fied by Cochläus, (whose writings wear
published, before Luthers death, and yet
was never hitherto challenged for anie false
information) by Pontanus, Surius, Horten-
sius, Moniford, Flor, Ramond, Sleydan, and
others. I protest and profess, I haue vsed
sincearitie, in reporting and citing the eui-
denc I had from so manie worthie witnes-
ses: and as the Romans vsed to say, at ther
making of leagues, *Ita me Iupiter, si sciens
fallo*

But I feare, yow ar tyred, with hearing *Linus.*
so

so much calamitie at once, and in one con-
trie; which was wrought partlie by Luth-
rans, partlie by such as had drawn ther do-
ctrine, owt of Luthers fountaines (for how
can'the water be vncorrupted, when the
spring was so poysoned, and infected at the
head?)

*Whether
Luther
may trau-
le be actu-
sed, to haue
beene the
Cauus of
all these
troubles.*

I know heare will be great exceptions
taken against me, that I laye these tumults
to Luthers charge, (aswel the insurrection
of the Anabaptists, as of the rest afore-
sayd) who writ vehementlie to reprocue
ther actions; and gaue them neither occa-
sion nor harting; and euer disliked the il-
lusions and phantasies of *Muncer* and his
followers: and neuer was deseruedlie accu-
sed for anie doctrine of sedition, hauing oft
preached in the defens of magistrates, and
ciuil government, as *Doctor Bilson* affir-
meth.)

Touching these excuses, of rather fa-
bles; yf yow fynd them all sufficientlie dis-
prooned: I leaue it to yowr iudgment, how
to censure D. Martin, and his Champions.

1. First examin seriouslie, whether Luther,
was a cause of these trowbles; and yow
shall discern plainlie, that his positions and
exhortations gaue the principall grownd
and occasion of all: that his bull against
the Cleargie, his inuectiues against all Ec-
clesiasticall

clesiasticall persons and orders, blew the coles that fyred all, and animated the people, vnder coolor of zeal and reformation to pull down all. For what man is so senceles, that would not be mooued to contemn all authoritie, and seek to enfranchise hym self, and fight vnder the banner of libertie? when he shall heare such a popular sermon, that princes ar tyrants, Bushops blind guides, Religious men Idolators; and that all Christians haue and ought to enioye the great Charter of free libertie, and ar not bownd in conscienc to anie mans lawes and constitutions? And yf he preached such doctrine (as before yow haue partlie hard he ded,) then was not he the Primatiue and cheafe Boutefeu of all?

Cochlæus in his *Miscellanea*, citeth this one place of Luthers lib. 1. *Exhortat ad pacem. In seculari regimine nil amplius facitis nisi excoriatis subditos, ad suscitandam pompam vestram, donec diutius ferre non possint.* And afterward, *non sunt Rustici boni Domini, qui sese vobis opponunt: Deus ipse est ad visitandam tyrannidem vestram.* A man can not deuile, to geue the people better harting, to ronn into ryots; then owte of the pulpit, to tax the princes for so cryng a sin, as tyrannie: and to maik God the author to reueng that: speciallie being not bownd in conscienc, to
oley

2.
*Resp. ad
 Campian
 rationes 3.*

obey anie humain lawes. But D. Whitacre, saith, *It neuer cam into Luthers mynd, to pluck in peaces the authoritie of magistrates*, which he ded all waies defend against the Anabaptists: and (as D. Bilson affirmeth,) Luther ded hold, that the Gospel doth not barr the politick lawes of anie contrie.

I wonder these two great doctors, wold affirm this so confidentlie; knowing first, that though in some places of his books (to bleare the eyes of the world) he had perswaded subiects to obedienc, (the contrarie wheareof, it had bean too grosse an error to mantaine:) yet that his practise, and actions wear fullie contradictorie to that course. And knowing also, that Luther hym self, set it down as a deuine decree *l. de captiu. Babilon. c. de baptismo. Ab omnibus hominum legibus exempti sumus, libertate Christiana nobis per baptismum donata*. Was this onelie from the Canons, or aswell from Municipall lawes? I know your Iewel of England, laboured to couer the deformitie of this proposition: which by a sleight euasion, he sought to avoyd, by comparing S. Pauls phrased with Luthers, Galat. 3. Lill to the purpose. But it was more fayrlie and conninglie shadowed, by D whitacre, thus (*loco predicto*;) saith he. *By saith, men ar free, not that, they may not obey lawes, and*

line

live ouelie to them selfs: but that they may understand, there consciences and mynds ar freed, from making the lawes of man to be religious (i. to bynd the conscienc.)

And after ward he saith again, *Mans lawes bynd not the conscienc*, for then they should bynd in all places alike. And so he concludes in generall, *The magistrate is to be obeyed for conscienc*, but his particular lawes bynd not the conscienc: that is as in an other place he interprets it, *We must obey kumain lawes*, bycaus they ar necessarie for peace; but we must distinguish them from deuine, which ar simplie to be obeyed, without differenc of tyme, place, or circumstance, as mans lawes ar.

Thus he defendeth Luther, by interpreting his words: and his interpretation quite overthrowes both Luthers meaning and words.

For so we ar not by D. whitaker exempted from obeying mans lawes, but from obeying them *simpliciter*, and as deuine; for it is not the question, which lawes bynd most; *secundum magis & minus*, Gods lawes or mans, for of that, ther can be no question, no man dowbts it. But whether mans lawes bynd the Conscienc at all; and whether simplie it be a trew proposition *ab omnibus hominum legibus exempti sumus*? And yf mans lawes doe not bynd the conscienc; why

why ded yow think preasts bownd in conscienc, to obey the pænal lawes of England, or to be put to death, for not obeying?

But it is best and playnest dealing to maik Luther, his own expositor, and so trie yf he can be cleared; or yt he prooue not worse, and an enemie to humain lawes.

For in the same book, *cap. de Mairimonio. Scio (inquit) nullam rempublicam, legibus feliciter administrari: and in c. de sacris Ordinib. Turpe enim est & iniquiter seruile, christianum hominem qui liber est, alijs quam celestibus, & diuinis subiectum esse legibus.* In both which places, he is quite contrarie, to D whittacre, and maiks small aëcount of the statuts of common welths; but as a thing seruile, to be subiect and tyed to obey them.

And S. Thomas Moor, in his Latin book against Luther, affirms that Tindal (one of Luthers principal disciples in England) in his book of Obedienc taught the same lesson: and he citeth a place from whence it seems Tindal deriued his opinion. *Sc. Dico itaque, neque Papa, neque Episcopus, neque ullus hominum, habeat ius constituende vnius sillaba, super hominem christianum, nisi sit eiusdem consensu.*

So then obserue it well, and yow shall see, that it bothe cam into Luthers mynd and his penn, to pluck in peaces, the
authoritie

Not.

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authoritie of magistrates and lawes.

And the words of Luther litterallie import as much, els what english can yow maik of, *ab omnibus hominum legibus exempti sumus*? Is it against the Canon law onelie? the words *omnibus hominum*, teach yow the contrarie; is it to prefer Gods lawe, and religion, *comparatiue*, before mans? the word (*Exempti*) vsed simplie, shoves the contrarie: and that as we ar freed from the law of the Pope, or constitutions of Bushops: so and in the same degree, we ar (as he holds) exempted from all mans lawes, so as *neque ullus hominum*, haith power to enact one sillable, wherto he shall be obliged.

Again, yf we be exempted from all lawes; and the magistrate but by lawe, can clayme no obedienc: what conclusion, can yow maik to defend Luther, but in a mood and figure bad enough?

Furthermore, I am perswaded all men of vnder standing will think the verrie words of Luther, plainlie, and in the litteral sence to be daingerous; yf they be not qualified, and bettered by such an interpreter, as D. Whitakers. And the plain common people stand not to vvaigh vvords, but taik them *in cortice*, as the letter imports.

The Bowres could not wrest and straine
D them

them by learning, and maik a gloss quite contrarie to the text: but they took hold of that exposition, which vvas best agreeable to ther appetites, and serued most fitlie to open them a passage to libertie, (vvich was ther end and scope.)

And D. Whitaker hym self, seing he could not iustifie the words, sought to defend the meaning therof, by a deuise and sence of his own making, vvich he inspi-
reth into the vvords.

But Luther excellentlie expresseth his own meaning *libro ad nobilitatem Germanie*; for as of the Imperial chamber at Spores, he had giuen this sentenc, *Tribunal Camera Imperialis, ecce quam diabolica est meretrix*: so hear he saith, *Ferunt nullum esse pulchrius regimen, quam apud Turcam, qui tamen neque Canonicum neque civile ius habet, sed solum Alchoranum. At nos fateri oportet nusquam esse turpius regimen, quam apud nos per ius civile & Canonicu*.

Nowv ballance and examin this vvell; and that vvil determin the controuersie; we accuse Luther, that he vvould abolish all lawes, and that men should be ruled onelie by the gospell, and that vpon such his doctrine the paissants vvearincooraged to taik armes.

No saith maister vvhitaker, it vvas not
Luthers

Luthers meaning (for the vvords he could not denie) to abrogate the authoritie of lawes; but his meaning was they ded not bynd the conscienc.

Now what Luther meant, appeared by severall places before, but now he explayneth all, and leaues no dowbt. For heare he reiecteth all lavves both ciuil and canon, and setts this brand of infamie vpon them, *nusquam turpius regimen*: and ioynes both the lavves *sub eodem iugo*, to dravv after the Alchoran, and come short of that: and so he reiecteth and disgraceth the positine and politick lavves of Germanie.

For vvho vvould obeye lavves vvorse then the Alchoran? or obey magistrates, vvho govern by them, vvorse then the Balhavves? Novv seing no man can defend Luthers vvords, and the fruits and effects thereof (the conspiracie of the Bovvvers) being inexcusable: I may vvell conclude, that Luther vvas much, yf not most to blame, for these the first tumults of Germanie. But I will yet maik that, a litle more playne, by the testimonies of learned vvriters. *Hoffman*, (in *historia Sacramentaria*;) *Lutherus* (haith he) *bells Germanici causanon levis*.

Oflander, *centur*, 16. p. 16. *Rustici iuramentis confederati seditionem excitavunt, contra*

D 2 , quos-

quosdam proceres Ecclesiasticos. Causam preten-
debant quasi Evangelij doctrinam tueri. &c. and
he adds this, that ad Luth. vindictum prouo-
cauerunt. (For they ded altogether build
vpon his grownds, and writings; speciallie
the bull, vvhich no man can defend by
law; how soever they may cloke that, by
pretence of the gospel)

How Erasmus in Hyperaspiste, condem-
nēs hym for that, his words declare. *Populus*
(inquit) *iste Evangelicus, quos tumultus ex-*
citat? quoties, quam lenibus de causis procurrit
ad arma? ne ius quidem Ecclesiasticis satis obtem-
perans, nisi dicant blandia auribus.

And in an other place. *Excussa est obedi-*
tia Episcoporum, which was onely Luthers
work,) *sed ut ut ne profanis quidem magistra-*
tibus pareatur. And Menno Simonini an Ana-
baptist, *libro de cruce Christi. Quam sanguino-*
lentas seditiones, Lutherani, ad comprobandam
doctrinam suam, annis aliquot proximis excitau-
erunt. Which they alledged; aswel for the
warr of the Bowers, as for the leaguers of
Smalcald, both which he occasioned.

And touching that obiection, that Lu-
ther ded vwrite *contrariisticos*, and against
ther vproares: and preached obedienc, per-
swaded them to that: and vehementlie con-
demned the Anabaptists; it is trew, he ded
so. But it was onely a fallacian, to avoyd
the

the scandal: for when he see, they wear not like to stand and maintain ther quarrel, he left them in the briars, though they appealed to hym: and bycause at that tyme, he was much condemned, as a *medium* and instrument of that sedition.

And ther for he reprooued *Pacimontanus* (a principal Anabaptist) for diuulging, that he was ther frend, and fauoured ther proceedings: and reprehended them all, as yf they had transgressed his bull (ther commission) in committing outrages against secular Princes and Magistrates, (though he hym self, ded most seditiouslie inuaign against them also)

Neither can yow think iustlie, that all (who ded rife with Muncer and caused the tumults after) wear onelie Anabaptists: for what was *Frances Sicking*, and his followers? Lutherans. What wear those of Frankfort, Mentz, and Coolen? Lutherans.

The Bowers also, vsed for ther defence, Luthers Homelies, and sermons: they wear all for reformation, and noueltie: all against the Church of Roome, and ther own Bishops: all for Libertie: and ther watchword, was *uiuat Euangelium*, as yf it had been, a seald fough for religion, and the Church.

And this confirms me stronglie against Luthers presumptuous intention, to abro-

gate all lawes; bycause he took vpon hym, to enact new lawes in disgrace of theould, as yf he had bean the head of the Church, and Christs vicegerent. For after he had burned the Popes Canons, and abolished the Masse: he mayd a new form of the Masse hym self; and ded institute new ceremonies *propria auctoritate*, which before he denied that the Pope could doe.

And what was his pretenc? *Libro de formula Missæ, Coactus sum* (saith he) *propter laues & fastidiosos spiritus*, sc. his own fellowers) *qui sola nouitate gaudent, atque statim ut nouus desijt, nauseantes*; alios Canones, *aliāque missandi formulam perscribere*.

Of which Erasmus, gaue this opinion. *Interim constitutiones humana, constitutionibus humanis (immo parum humanis) mutantur* *Tullius modo mutatus est, vocantur enim verbis Dei*. Luther, ded chaing and maik voyd the Constitutions of men; by new constitutions of his own, (which had litl humane in them.) The title onely was chainged, for he gaue them the name of Gods word.

But all this, *quo vtrarranto*, was it doon? Is it tollerable, for Luther a priuate man, without anie euident authoritie, or express commission, to disanull all lawes, and maik a Metamorphosis of the world, at his

his pleasure? but his vocation, his ministerial power, his iurisdiction, was extraordinary: he was sent, as an Elias, to discover and confound Antichrist. I think in dead he was sent, and God permitted hym to visit his church: as he permitted Satan to visit holie Iob.

That so by hærésie and tyrannie, he might awake the world, reuiue deuotion, and be a mean to punish sinn, and purge ill humors, (which could not but a litle infect the natural bodies of the visible church, after so maine hundred yeares, of peace and plentie.)

It may be, that he fownd the lights in the church burning somewhat too dimm. Yet tho he ded snuff it, he had no power either to put owt the candl, or remooue the candlstick. For hærésies doe oft geue fitt occasiōs, to stirr vp the churchmen to more discipline: to open and explain the sence of scripture: and to exercise the patient, wisdom, and pietie of the Church.

And so Luther may be sayd to haue preserved religion, as the Romans sayd, that *Aufere seruant caput lum.*

But of Luther, and Elias, his vocation and Apostleship; I shall haue occasion much fitter, to discourse hereafter and to Canonise hym in a Calender more proper

for his holienes : being now desyrous to declare the Catastrophe of this miserable Tragedie, he set foorth in Germanie, rather to be lamented then discoursed.

The former attempts, wear vndertaken against the cleargie, and the princes : but I will now relate, an enterprise against both the Empyre, and the Emperor hym self, and by the mightiest princes of Almaine whear in Luther, was *causa sine qua non*.

Old Iolm Frederick, Duke of Saxonie, together with the Lansgraue of Hessen, and diuers others (all protectors of Luther, and his gospel,) first entred into a league at Smalcald, (a town in Heflia, vpon the frontiers of Saxonie) onelie for ther own defense, and the maintenanc of ther religion and liberties, (for bothe of these ioyn- tly at now mayd the vsual cloke, of conspiracies) against all men, that should invade, and seek to persecute them. (And in this league weare comprehended the Duke of Vircēberg and diuers Imperiall townes.)

The which league, was again renewed at Frankfort; and confirmed with generall and solemne protestation, (vvhearupon there and at Auspurg the name of Protestants, was deriued originallie.)

After that, anno 1536. fearing least the Emperor should either preuent, or circum- vent

vent them, they prepared to come into the feald, vvith a mightie armie whearof the yong Duke of Saxonie, Iohn Frederick, (his father being dead) and the Lanfgrauce wear generalls: vvho resolved by armes to fynd right; or to maik right. The Duke of Wirtenberg assisted them.

The Imperiall towns, Auspurgh, Vlm, Strasburgh, and Frankfort sent them ayd.

The Count Palatine, leuied two hundred horse for them, (but wiselier reuoked them, being on the vvaye:) the Duke of Brunsvvick and his sonnes, the Duke of Lunenburgh, the yong Marques of Baden, the Princ D'Anhalt, the Counts of Furstenbergh and Mansfeald, ioyned vvith them, in perton and povver.

So as the armie containyd abovv threescore and ten thousand men (vvheareof ther vvas 7700. horse,) and 112. Cannons and feald peaces, vvith infinite provision, and almost the hope of an assured victorie.

The eyes of all princes, vvear fixed vpon this action: and all Germanie trembled, expecting the event, and successe of this great armie, (prepared to svallovv vp the Emperor, vvho had onelic king Ferdinand, the Duke of Bauier, and the Duke of Cleaue, assured to hym:) (for tho Duke
Maurice

Maurice ded followv, the Emperor, yet vvas he sonn in lavv to the Landsgraue, and might be suspected also for his religion.)

I vwill not tell yovv, a tedious tale and impertinent, the event vvas this.

The Emperor (for all this huge preparation,) became maister of the feald and Conqueror: the tvvo generalls (a rare accident) vwear bothe taken prisoners, and ther armie defeated.

The Duke of Saxonie (an honorable man) and much pittied, had his lyfe giuen, and conuienc for his religion but his impregnable fort of Gotha vvas Demolished, and the electorate and the lands therto belonging, vwear bestovved by the Emperor vpon Duke Morrice.)

The like mercie for his lyfe, vvas shovved to the Landsgraue. The Duke of Wittenbergh (for tvvo hundred thovvland Duckets,) and the Imperial tovvnes, vpon ther petition and submission, by the mediation of Angels and Duckets, sollicitated and mayd ther peace vvith the Emperor.

And so by the providenc of God, and prosperitie of Cesar: the Empyre vvas preserved, and keapt *i. statu quo prius*: and the Electors Ecclesiasticall and Prelates, vwear still continued, and ther dignities maintained.

Tho

Tho by all probabilities, it may vvell be coniectured, that as these great princes had in ther ovvn prouincies, extinguish'd, and buried, the title, state, and Iurisdiction of Bushops: so yf they had vwon the glorie of the daye, and had bean conquerors, they vvold haue vsed the same deformation in all the empyre.

Yf yovv ask, hovv this vvarr of the Princes ded concern Luther, or Lutheranism? Or hovv he, or his religion, vvear to be condemned as the motives of that? Or vvwhether the Actors them selfs, could be iustlie accused, for that rebellion! I must ausver, that Greatnes, and Innouation; never vvanted patrons to defend them, nor vvitt to color ther faults.

That this vvar vvay vularv-fall.

D. Bilson, in his book of the difference between Christian subiectiō an vnchristian rebellion, to palliat the fault, and excuse both Luther, and the Confederats, affirmeth that the lawyers of Germanie (but he nameth none in particular) ded permit Resistance; coninglie insinuating that the Lawes ded permit and tollerate the protestants to resist. And secondlie, that the States of Germanie, wear not absolutelie subiect to the Emperor, but Conditionallie. And therfor he concludes with a *quare*, why should not the states of Germanie, enioye

*1.
D. Bilsons
opinion.*

enioye the same liberties, and securitie
ther forefathers ded: and so he con-
cludes that, wheareof no man mayd quæ-
stion; and is nothing, to the matter in
quæstion.

2.
Ofander
Centur. 16.

The Deuines of Magdeburgh, held
this opinion. That yf the magistrate passe
the bownds of his authoritie, and cōmand
things wicked and vnlaw full he may well
be resisted, and not obeyed.

3. And Sleydan l. 19. fol. 263. saith, we
may resist Cæsar, with good conscience,
intending a destruction bothe of religion,
and libertie.

4. But Philip Melancthon, lib. Consil.
Euangelic. parte 1. pag. 314. confidentlie
enableth, the inferior magistrate, to alter
religion, and ouerthrow Idolatrie. And so
they conclude this warr was lawfull and al-
lowable, both by gods law, and mans, *se*
defendendo.

Hear is a harmonie of fowre parts, and
yet all to maintain Discords, and impugn
the magistrates anthortie: and they con-
taine the substāc of the reasons, alledged by
the Duke and the Landgraue, both when
the league was first mayd at Smalcald; and
afterward, when they proclaimed war a-
gainst the Emperour.

Now yf yow examin well these seuerall
Doctors

Doctors opinions, yow shall fynd therby, that it must first be prooued, 1. That Caesar passed the bownds of his authoritie, (or els it is playne they passed theirs:) 2. Secondlie that he commanded things wicked and vngodlie, and against gods commandement. Thirdlie that he went about to Destroye trew religion, and ther libertie; and all these must be doon, before it be lawfull to taik armes and resisthym, (for to resist onelie, is ther pretence.)

I wil first demand of them this quzstion. When Caesar or the supreme magistrate, commandeth anie thing to be doone, (which is not apparentlie, against the lawes of the Emphyre, then in force) who is to be Censor, whether Caesar passeth the bownds of his authoritie? and whether the things he commandeth be impious or no? They answer he ded absolutelie seak to overthrow ther liberties, and trew religion, *scilicet*, Lutheranism (which is fownded vpon the trew preaching of the word, and administration of the sacraments.) This surelie is not a sufficient answer, *ad idem* and to my quzstion: and yet I may replie, that it is, and haith bean an old and vsual stratagem of Satan, to oppose religion against religion: that so, he might bring in Atheisme, and leaue vs no religion. Be-
sides

sides they maik that ther principal argument, (the presumption, of ther trew religion) whearof Cæsar at wormes, mayd the greatest quæstion, and so they *infer ignotum per ignotius*.

Add therfor to this, that they when they ded: presume to establish a new religion; ded passe them selfs, the bownds of ther authoritie.

The world might iudge Cæsar a verrie simpl Prince, yf hewould either haue changed his religion or tollerated theirs, vpon the bare credit, of Luthers priuat: spirit and opinion, or vpon the protestation of the Confederates.

For think yow them cōpetent Iudges of the Cleargie; or to decyde what should be receaued in the Empyre, for trew religion?

Can religion lawfullie, and orderlie be changed, by temporal magistrates onelie? and when neither a general counsell, nor a national counsell hath decreed it, nor anie Imperial Dyet, haith established it? May euerrie elector or prince, frame for his prouinc by law, a religion of a new Cutt, withowt the consent of the Emperor and the states? Geue me an instanc, show a præsident, when anie such innouation was mayd in the Empyre, vithowt an Imperial Dyet; or els as ther taking armes

mes was withowt Iustice, so ther quarrel is withovv^t lavvfull grovvnd. Further more, vvas it lavvfull for the Confederates, to coyne a nev^v religiō and taik armes for the defens of thau^t and vvas it not more lavvful for the Emperor to defend the old receaued religion, and to reform them?

The Rustiks took armes vpon the same pretenc, for religion and libertie: and yet the Confederates, vvith ther o^vn forces, and vvith great iustice and honor ded subdevv the Bovvers. why then might not Cæsar compell the leaguers to exercise the religion established, vvith a *Quousque*, and to obey the lavves not abrogated, and keap the peac of the common vv^elth, vvithovv^t disturbance? For the degree and dignitie of the persons: doth not maik the same case different.

But they obiect that Cæsar intended and plotted to Destroye them, and ther liberties, for religion; and ther for they vvear forced to taik armes. weigh this vv^ell and yovv shal see it vvanteth vveight. It vvas surelie inexcusable for Defendants, to leuie and lead an armie into the feald against Cæsar, vvho vvas not in the feald against them, nor had anie forces readie a long tyme after. They marched to beseag the Emperor, and ded Drive hym to fortifie hym

hym self, and come into the feald vvith a handfull of men; and then vvith great furie set vpon his camp, vvho had much a doe, to Defend hym self: far from offending them.

But the Emperor (saith D. Bilson) is not to be obeyed by the states, vvith absolute obedienc; for they ar his subiects, but *ex condicione*. So then he maketh Cæsar Emperor, but *ex condicione*. And yf maister Bilson meaneth therby to charge Cæsar (as the Hollanders ded the king of Spayne,) vvith the oath taken at his coronation, to obserue ther lawes, and defend ther liberties: and so taik that for a condition: the like oath is taken, by all kings and princes *Successive*, as vvell as *Elective*. And yf yovv haue deuised a trick to vnking them, vvhen yovv think they performe not punctuallie, each article of ther oaths: surelie yovv then may be iustlie tearmed a most learned Doctor, to make *nullities*. And yet I think, yf anie man preach this doctrine at Powles Crosse, he haith great luck, yf he answer not for it, at Towre hill.

But I vvill leaue skirmishes, and come to the maine poynt. It may iustlie be affirmed, that Cæsar ded obserue the lawes: and that the leaguers ded violate both the lawes, and liberties of Germanie. For
vvbat

vvhat prince so euer stands *rectus in Curia*, and haith the ancient lawes to back and varrant hym; must needs be iudged to hold a better and lawfull plea, then subiects armed against ther prince vvith priuat opinions onelie, nouelties, and an Alchoran of ther ovvn making.

But at that tyme, by lawe, Cæsar vvvas bovvnd rather to banish and extirpate Lutheranism, then to tollerate the same: for yt is manifest, that he vvvas obliged by the oath at his Coronation, expresse and particularlie, to defend the Pope, the Catholick Church, and the religion thereof. This is a matter of fact, and can not be contradicted, as yovv ovvn Goldastus knovveth and acknovvledgeth.

Neither vvvas yt a nev v oath: for the same in effect vvvas taken, by *Carolus 4. Otto 1. Otto 1. and Carolus Magnus*, which is a præscription, for tyme good enough, and for reason vndisputable. And the like profession, yovv shall fynd to be mayd, by the ancient reuerend Emperors, Iustinian, Theodosius, Gratian, and others bothe in the Code, and *Novel constitutions*.

So then hovv could the Emperor either mantain or suffer anie other religion (as authentical) then that vvvhich he fovvnd established in ths Empyre, allowed by

all his predecessors, vvarranted by so manie counsels, continued so manie generations, ratified by the diets, and confirmed by his own oath.

Yet by cause D. Bilson averreth, that it was consonant to the opinion of the lawyers of Germanie: examin whether, the Duke of Saxonie and the Landsgraue when they wear taken prisoners, vsd anie such argument, for ther excuse. No Syr, absolutelie they submitted them selfs, and craued his pardon at whose pleasure they wear, to stand or fall: to die or liue. There ill case, could not maik a good cause ill: but ther ill cause, mayd ther case ill and stand in need of commiseration.

And what a ridiculous reason had it bean for them, to haue pleaded: that it was lawfull for subiects by the sword to defend ther religion.

For yf it wear lawfull for the elector of Saxonie to taik armes for defenc of Lutheranisme, by cause he was perswaded, ther was no other veritie, no other religion infallible, but Luthers: why might not the Count Palatine (with the same pretext) taik armes for Calvinisme; and a Halberstat for Epicurisme, and a Muncer for Anabaptisme? And so by an Anarchie, vnder coolor of ther liberties, and the prerogatiue of

con-

conscience, rend in peaces the Empyre, and open the ports of Germanie to let in the Turck. But to stopp the mouthes of school learned ignorance, I will discouer and laye Down the fowndation of this great quarrel, and the legall order and reason of Cæsars procreading.

Anno 1521. The Emperor hauing conferred personallie with Luther at wormes: and owt of his speciall grace and benignitie, hauing required the Archbushop of Trier, and the Elector of Brandenburg, to treat with hym, and perswade Luther to confor- mitie and peace: and perceauing his obsti- nacie, and insolencie, refusing to submitt hym self: and finding that all his course, his books, and his sermons ded tend to sedition: he mayd a Decree, with the generall consent of the states; not to put hym to death (such was his mercie:) but to banish hym owt of the empyre (whearin he showed More lenitie, then prouidenc,) In which decree, after that at large he had set Down the cawses and reasons of the act, he con- cludes thus *Mandantes, decorundem statuum consensu, sub crimine lese Maiestatis, ac omis- sionis feudorum, dominiorum, bonorum, priuile- giorum, a nobis ac sacro Imperio dependentium; ac proscriptionis & Banni, &c. Ne quis ve- strum, presatum, M. Lutherum, recipere, su-*

*Se Gold-
stus and
Coclaus.*

sentare praesumat, & vi libros suos seditiosos ac haereticos comburatis. &c. And this edict, was directed, to the Electors, Princes, townes, and states. Now can yow imagin, that the Duke of Saxonie or the Landsgraue, wear exempted from this edict? or that the Emperor by vertue thereof, had not as full power to call them to ansver forther contempts, as anie inferior persons? Doe yovv tawk the Princes electors to be such *Ephori*, or *transcendents*, that they may bridle and curb the Emperor in the execution of Iustice? as yf the Emperor vwear but a shadow in Germanie, *titulus sine re*, and as yf *imperium in imperio quarendum esset*: (which by Bodines leaue, I will maik appear to be an error.) But after this Decree, the Duke of Saxonie ded harbor Luther at Alstat (a town of his own in Turingia, which Luther called his Pathmos, wheare he composed manie reuelations and mysteries:) and there he provided for his rest and securitie, and in the interim settled and planted Lutheranism in all his dominions) (not with standing the decree:) and entered into the league of Smalcald, for maintenance thereof.

All which actions, that yovv may vnder stand how directlie they ar against lawe, and Iustice: Let Andrew Gayle deliuer his opinion,

nion. Libro de Pace publica cap. 10. §. 36. *Receptores Bannitorum, perinde puniuntur, atq; Banniti, Domini pradiorum tenentur reos exhibere*, and learned Brunus lib. 1. de heres. c. 4. *In excommunicatis, qui bannitis comparari solent, unica receptio noxia est.* Now Luther was both banished, and excommunicated. And Gayle in another place, *Qui bannito Commectum & annonam suppleat, pena receptorum ordinaria tenetur.* Per adventure, you may think, that the Duke (Luthers Meccenas) was not eyed with in this tedder; these lawes vvear in force, for meaner subiects: ther for that learned Gayle, shall maik his own comment, lib. 1. c. 1. §. 9. de Pace publica saith he, *Conditio pacis publica, omnes omnium ordinum status imperij, magistrorum & minorum q̄tuum; cuiuscunque dignitatis personas aequè obligat, etsi contra Potentiores sit promulgata.* So as the greater the person is, the more he is bovvnd to obey the lavve. But the Duke not obeying the lavv, and knowing that Cæsar had oft vvritten ovt of Spayn, to haue the edict of vvormes strictlie executed: fearing Cæsars indignation, intred into a league, took armes, and so ded aggrauate both his ovvn, and his fathers offenc, and thought them vnardonable.

Yet after that league, the Emperors

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Em-

Embassador, 1529. at Spyres, offered vnto the leaguers most æquall and moderate articles, viz. *utrinque ab omni iniuria, & damno, & conuitijs abstergerent: & quod transgressores contra hac sint proscribendi.* Who would not think this a reasonable offer, from the supreme magistrate, to the inferiours, that stood in dainger of lawe? the Catholiques could never hope for so much in Q. Elizabeths tyme. Yet vvas this refused and reiected.

Again at Auspurg 1530. Cæsar verrie graciouslie entertained the Duke, and receaued his petition exhibited, vvith as much fauor and indifferencie, as he might vvith his honor. And there againe he reuiued his Embassadors former motion, that no more innouations should be mayd: nor moe books to be by them published: but that all things, should stand quietlie and peacable, till 17. May next. So much ded he yeald, to them, for desyre of peace, and for the publick good of Europe (the Turk hauing so latelie before besieged Viëna, and taken Rhodes.) Not vvith standing the Duke reiected the motion, and much displeased the Emperour therby: (vvho plainliereplied, that yf they obeyed not, they should repent it. And yet againe (tho thus prouoked rather to dravv his svvord)

at Spyres, he ded labor by perswasion to preuayle quietlie vyith them (but thither the Duke, ovvt of Iealousie and feare, vwould not come at all) tho he vvas summoned.

By this course yow may iudg how vnwilling Cæsar was, to disturb the peace of the empyre, or to enter into an offensive warr, seeking to winn thē so oft, and so graciouſlie. So as it was the more inexcusable, for men that pretended onelie to defend them ſelfs: to reiect peace, vyhen it vvas offred: and then to offend by taking armes, before they weare offended.

If I should relate the mallice and contempt they showed of hym; yow might conceaue, that they could never haue hoped, to haue fownd a spark of mercie in his hart, towards them.

For in all ther publick acts and letters, they vouchsafed to geue hym no other title, then Charles of Gandt, vsurping the name of the Emperor; wherby they renounced all obedienc to hym, and deposed hym, as farr as laye in ther power (which was an indignitie, which a wise prince could hardlie swallow with patienc.)

I may not forget, how the Landſgraue in great brauerie, both by letters and meſſagers, assured the citties and Princes of

ther confederation (perhaps therby, to procure a larger contribution:) and engaged his promise, that with in thre months they would force Charles to flie owt of Germanie, and abandon the empyre.

How then ded these things coheare? That this holie league was mayd onelie *se defendendo*, and to resist, for ther lavv full protection: and yet to strike the first blow, invade the Emperor, offend first, and promise to expell hym owt of Germanie; before he offered anie tokē of hostile against them, or they had iust and eident cause, to march into the feald. And long before that, they sollicited the kings of France, England, and Denmark, the Hans townes, and Svisses, to ioyn vvith them in league against hym: (vvhome they dishonored, and prouoked, vvith most infamous libells, and vvvorthie aspersions,) France (tho an enemie) noblie denied them. Denmark lingred, expecting the succes: king Harrie vvas not forvvard, tho Cromvvell diligentlie sollicited ther cavvse, and promised them 100. thousand crownes for ther ayd. And at that tyme D. Thirlebie Bishop of westminster, and Syr Philip Hobbie, wear the kings Embassadors with the Emperor; and wear witnesses and spectators of the whole Tragedie.

Lastlie

Lastlie to disprove these there proceedings by lawe: Remember first the decree at Wormes: read the edict of Maximilian the 1. anno 1495. and 1500. the words at these. *(Consentientibus statum & ordinum imperij votis, necessarium de pace publica constitutionem, landisrieden promulgavit: qua pacem publicam, armata manu violentibus, pava proscriptiois, (quam bannum imperiale appellamus) irrogatur: Scil. vita, necisque* And to explain that, A. Gayl l. 1. c. 14. de Pace publica. *Omnia bella (inquit) que in iussu summi principis Imperatoris, puta, vel sine eius licentia geritur, privata quadam vindicta, iniusta sunt.* And afterward, cap. 5. he puts bothe Sleydan, Bilson, and the Centuriators, to silence: and by law, overthrowes all ther foundations. *In crimen lese maiestatis incidit, qui bellum in imperio sine Caesaris licentia movet; quia usurpat sibi ea, que sunt solius principis, & movere bellum ad solum imperatorem pertinet.* So also Goldastus l. 1. tit. 190. cites this ancient law, *Nemo intra imperij fines, suis alienisve ditionibus, militem sollicito, nisi de voluntate ducis istius circuli, canearque fide iussione statum, nihil se, in Casarem, principes, subditos, & clientes Imperij molantur.*

And in tomo 2. he produceth a decree of Ludouicus Pius, against the king of the Romans, and his contederates, guiltie of
high

high treason, for attempting against the Emperor (wherby the king was iudged to loose his head.) The like ded Hentie the first, against Arnulphus Duke of Bauier, who had rebelled against hym. And Otho the 1. ded asmuch, against Ludolphus king of the Romans. I will conclude all with one exemple; late, memorable, and to our purpose. Maximilian the 1. ded forbed all subiects of the empyre, to geue ayd to the french king in his warrs. Emicho, Earl of Lingen in contempt of the edict, went into France, and tooke paye of the french king for hym and his companies. The Emperor being aduertised thereof, proclaymed hym traytor, gaue the spoyle of his howse, and confiscation of his lands to the princes of the empire, irrecoverable. Now, yf Maximilian, might thus punish Emicho by law, for going to ayd France, contrarie to his proclamation: vwhat might he haue dovvne, yf he had taken armes against hym self, (as the confederats ded against Charles.) And for the Imperiall townes, ther fault was most grosse, and deserued most punishment: for *Ciuium Imperalium, solum Imperator Dominus est, non magistratus municipalis*. And touching ther libertics, and freedom, Gayle sayd trewlie and iudiciousslie, *Germanica libertatis iniqua est iactatio*, against the

the Emperor. So then I refer it to the Iudgment, of anie vnpartial Iudg, whether the action, and proceeding, of these two noble and greate persons, for ther religion, and defenc of Lutheranisme, weare warrantable by lawe, or no; and speciallie, being directlie against the Emperor, and the religion established in the Empyre.

And concerning Luther hym self: because he was the *primum mobile*, of all these motions, in that Orbe: and the *malus genius*, that inspired the people and conducted and directed all; and for the defenc of whose doctrine, all these swords wear drawn; cann yow think, yf the Princes wear faultie, that he is free and innocent? Yf the flock ded err, that the shephard was not to blame? I omitt to charg hym with small faults; as with publishing vnruthe to defame Cæsar: *Vormaciam ingressus sum, etiam cum scirem mihi violatam a Casare, fidem publicam.* A fable, and fiction. I omitt that scandalous sentenc, in hatred and contempt of the empyre, *Nouum imperium erexit Papa, transferens id a Græcis ad Romanos, quod inter cetera opera Antichristi, vel principale, vel maximum portentum est.* (As yf the empyre, wear a new building framed by Antichrist, and the sacred Imperial crown, wear as odious and irreligions, as the Turbant of Soli-

Soliman.) I will recapitulate nothing of his misdemeanors which, I haue alledged before, towards the Emperor and Princes: I will not accuse hym for vsurping the regalities of Cæsar, and for making and publishing politick Lawes *De communi fisco*, (one of the greatest marks of sooueraintie:) and how the reuennues of the church should be employed, when the Abbeies wear pulled downe, (though that proiect wear as good, as an exhortation to ruine and pull them downe.)

1. Onelie I vwill lay to his charge, first that he counsell'd the Princes to taik armes, and resist Cæsar (seing the extremitie, and that religion could not be otherwise defended.) The which Sleydan hym self confesseth to be trew, and ther for needs no other prooffe.

2. Secondlie, his endeauor, perswasion, and cōspiracie, to suppress the Ecclesiasticall Electors, subuert ther estate, and so consequentlie, to overthrow the *Aurea Bulla* (which is a fundamentall lawe in the empyre:) vvas directlie either an action of treason, or in the highest degree of sedition. For seing the thre Ecclesiasticall Electors (the thre Chancelors of the Empyre) ar immediatelie subiect to the Emperor, in respect of ther regalities, so as ther is no
appeal

appeal from them to the Pope, but to the Emperor, and Spyres: Luther contriuing to ruine them, purposed to pull the fayrest flowre owt of the imperial crowne. Besides he could not suppress them, but he must likewise overthrow with them, all the grownds of ther title and clayme: and so should he also for companie, abrogate all the authoritie of the temporall Electors, (who haue no other charter to plead, then the Ecclesiasticals haue:) and so should maister Whitakers, then haue seene that (which he would not beleaue) that Luther had rent in peaces, all the vvhole state, layves, and maiestie of the empyre.

3. And novv I vvill end vvith an intollerable trespass, recited by Cochläus in Miscellaneis. Either Luther, (vvhich by his style is likest) or a Lutheran (vvhich is æquivalent) thus confidentlie vvriteth, after the league of Smalcald vvvas concluded. *Atque ut ora eis obturem, ex iure ipsorum seculari: Papa & Cæsar, non nati, sed electi sunt principes, & qui possunt deponi, id quod propter eorum male facta sepe factum est, &c.* And shortly after, *an non sunt in memoria hominum, reges & Cæsares, etiam hoc modo, à suis subditis expulsi?* And then he logicallie inferreth, *Hunc ergo ex a flore* (meaning Cæsar) *hunc Moab, Phalarim, Neronem, sedibus deitur.*

deurbare, *summum beneplacitum est Deo*.
 May not I now iustlie conclude, that both
 the Doctōr and the Doctrin ar seditious?
 For as his cause, was not manifestlie good
in se, nor *quoad nos*, and to our vnder
 standing (and surelie it is requisite that so
 great an innouation, should be evidentlie
 demonstrated,) before it be receaued and
 publickly approoued ;) so was his course
 most irregular and turbulent, neither re-
 garding lawes, nor reuerencing and obey-
 ing princes. Now yf the Ancients and
 Stateimen, well prouided for the direction
 and managing of temporall affayres, that
 the priuate iudgmēt of Solon Licurgus, or
 Cato is but held as *opinion*, till by parlie-
 ment it be enacted for a law: *a fortiore*, how
 can yow hold it fitt, that in matters tou-
 ching the sowle and saluation, the priuate
 opinion of Luther should be reuerenced
 and receaued as an Oracle, before it be de-
 creed either by Councel or Synode? And
 therfor, by the lawe of nations, and reason
 of state, *Mecenas* gaue this wise counsel to
Augustus, as an axiome contra *Nouatores*,
 as *Dyon* recordeth. *Libro 52. Eos qui in Di-*
uinis aliquid innouant, odio habet & coerce: non
deorum solum causa (quos tamen qui contemnit,
nec sane aliud quidquam magni fecerit: sed quia
noua quaedam numina ij tales introducunt,
multos

multos impellunt ad mutationes rerum. Unde
 conuersiones, seditiones, conciliabula, (res pro-
 feſſo minimum conducibilis principatus.) And
 ſurelie by ſuch innouation ded Luther in-
 ſinuate hym ſelf into the fauor of the prin-
 ces, and therby caſt the vvhole empyre
 into ſuch conuulſions; as it will hardlie ever
 recouer the former ſtrength and vigor. But
 I will end this matter ſayrelie, and con-
 demn hym by his own mouthe, and by the
 ſentenc he pronounced hym ſelf in the like
 caſe, againſt the Sacramentaries and Ana-
 baptiſts, (for ſome tymes this mad doctör,
 had *lucida internalla*, and could diſcern
 reaſon.) tom. 3. *Wittenber. ſeli* 488. Enar-
 rat. in *psal. 82.* ſaith he. *Nequē is* (ſc. ſeclā-
 rius) *in quem animaduertiur, per magiſtra-*
tum, coguur ad fidem &c. Sed prohibetur &
 opprimur *impia doct̃ina*, qua illum, in eam
 exiſtens (*Chriſtiano*, contra Deum & doct̃inam
Chriſtianam blaſphemat, in ſummam perniciem
Chriſtianæ religionis.

Eat alias, quous gentium, ubi non ſunt (*Chri-*
ſtiani, ibi effundat ſapientiam ſuam.

Nam ut ſepe dixi, qui in aliqua cinitate vi-
 nere ſult, iſturi alligatus eſt municipali: nequē
 ferendum eſt, ſi contra illudaget aut loquatur.
 Sic legimus quod patres in Concilio Niceno, cum
Arrianorum audirent dogma recitari, protenus
 hoc ex plodendum ſine vlla cognitione duxerunt,
 &c.

Nota.

&c. *Moses etiam in legales blasphemias pro-*
cepit lapidari. Sic etiam ibi, indicla causa &
mandata dammandi sunt, &c.

Nam tales generales articuli, recepti in tota
Ecclesia, satis auditi, satis sunt approbati. satis fir-
mati per scripturam per miracula, per sanguinem
martyrum, per scripta & confessionem totius
Ecclesia. Nec v'lo mod' ferendus est vllus sa-
pientulus, qui illos remocare velit in dubium &c.
& pag. 489. Si T. Munceri audacia, & Caro-
lostadt conatibus cito esset itum obuiam, tunc
eum in alienis Ecclesijs & domibus, clanculum,
& sine vocatione spargebant sua dogmata, minus
publicarum calamitatum vidissemus. Now ap-
plie these, to his own course, and his own
doctrine: and he must needs perish by his
own breath; and by his own verdit against
his antagonists, he doth draw an endite-
ment against hym self, against Muncer,
against the Princes, and against all those
that taik armes for religion against ther
soouerain Lords.

TITVLVS SECVNDVS OF CALVINISM.

Of Calvin,
and the
trouerses in
France.

I will heare leaue Germanie, and launch
 Iowt into an Ocean of as great miseries
 in France: and examin there, whether
 Calvinism

Calvinism doth prepare and dispose the hearts of that people to more obedience, humilitie, and patience, then Lutheranism ded. The first author and founder of this sect was vld. Swinglius; (whose Followers Luther Called Sacramentaries, the french named them Huguenots:) but now they haue their title and denomination from Calvin, (who as a Transcendent, haich overshadowed and obscured the glorie and name of Swinglius; and is solie reuerenced, as the Patriarch of Geneva, and the Architect, that framed all their state and discipline: and ordered all the motions of that Sphere, with much art and pollicie. For as Luther was harsh, stearne, and violent, neither vsing modestie nor good manners: so Calvin was more cautelous, of a more subtil spirit, and appeared at first to the world, in humilitie, and couered with the foxes skin. Luther vvas the original cause; but Calvin gloriethe that he gaue the perfection of all. So both of them weare glorious, both bred in the school of law and contention: both special friends to pleasure and the flesh, and neither of them commended much for pietie or deuotion.

For the description of the lyfe and conversation of Calvin; of his nature, behaviour, delicacie of diet, and physical epicu-

F

rismes

risme: I referre yow to one, that sat long by hym to draw his picture, *Vnius coloribus*, Doctor Hierome Bolsek (one that was vsed to feale his pulse, and know his humors.) A man not hyred, nor corrupted to doe that (as some without producing anie prooffe haue affirmed, and so without credit may as well be reiected.) Speciallie considering, that Frances Baldwin concurrerth with hym, both in the portraicture and colors: who was a famous lawyer, one that liued with Caluin, and knew what blood was nourished in euerie vayne of his bodie. The like was doone by Florimond de Remond, a gentlman of qualitie; Claudius de Saincts, and diuers others who haue left vs the liuelie image of Caluin, and of fine maister Theodore Beza, who succeded hym in his chayre and iurisdiction, like a vertuous man; a pastor vsurping an other mans parish, and the husband of an other mans wyfe: ever further in loue then charitie, and of better disposition to show witt, then pietie.

And as I will not medl with ther vertues and liues: so will I leaue to the more learned there schoolpoynts and doctrine; intending onelie to deliuer ther seditious paradoxes, and demonstrate to the world, how much both ther refyned discipline and doctrine doth

doth derogate from Royaltie, and the soverain authoritie of kings and princes: and how much it is more fauorable to democracie and popularitie, as more consonant to the aduancement of there consistorie and eldorship (wherby they haue wrought much confusion, sedition, and milcheafe.)

I will beginn with Calvin, who goeth stillic to work, and by certan degrees; and not so bluntlie, and rudelie as Luther.

1. First he labors to commend *Aristocratia*, and abase Monarchies: (onelie and secretlie to preferr the reputation of his Consistorie and *Sanhedrim*) l. 4. Cap. 20. v. 10. of his instit. *non id quidem per se sed hominum vitio*. And what is his reason? *quia rarissime contingit reges sibi moderari: demde tanto acuminis & prudentia instructos esse, ut unusquisque videat quantum satis est*. So he maiks yt, daintie, to fynd a wise and temperate king, and therfor he concludeth, *facit ergo hominum defectus, ut tutius sit, ac magis tollerabile, plures tenere gubernacula*. Sc. the defects of Princes is the reason, that I hold it it more safe, and more tollerable, for manie ioyntlie, then for one absolutelie to gouern and command. *Atque vrlibenter fatear, nullum esse gubernationis genus isto saluarius*. For when manie govern, one supplies the defects of an other, both in counsell

and iustice. Thus with a politick reason, he Doth insinuate hym self into the harts of the people, to plaine his way to the discipline he propounded. Yow may err in thinking this a trifle, and a schoolpoint: for he applyed it to a further end. After the Geneuians had elected ther Bushop, who had the supremacie in that state, as his predecessors had long enioyed it, since Frederic the first: then as Bodin noteth, ther Monarchie was chainged into a popular state (yet gouerned Aristocratie:) and therfor Calvin confirmeth the peopl in that opinion, and geueth reasons to approoue that act, which was the first fruits of the gospe. in that cittie.

2. Hauing giuen this blow to a monarchie, (he forgets he was born at Noyon, and thinks hym self safe at Geneva) to preuent that yow might not obiekt, that Princes haue alwaies graue and wise counsellors to aduise and inpyre them, and yf they be weak them selfs, to supplie ther defects. He giueth this resolucion, *cap. 11. v. 26.* vpon Daniel. Kings maik choyce of such men for ther countellors, as can best fitt ther humors, and accomodate them selfs to serue the appetites of ther king, *scilicet*, in Creweltie, and fallacians. So he maiks them rather worse then better, by hauing
coun-

counsellors, and stayneth the honor and reputation of a counsellor vwith a blemish and scandal intollerable, as yf kings wear neither better nor wiser by ther counsell tables.

3. But yet he goethon a degree further, for before he gaue the precedenc, by way of comparison, to Aristocratia, but now he both discrediteth and disgraceth Monarchies and Monarchs. *cap. 2. v. 39.* vpon Daniel. They ar (saith he) owt of ther wits, quite voyd of sence and vnderstanding, who desyre to liue in soouerein Monarchies. For it can not be, but that order and pollicie shall decay, whear one man holds, so large an extent of Dominion.

4. And to maik this bad proposition seame good, *cap. 5. v. 25.* Kings (saith he) forget they ar men, that is of the same mould, that others arr. They ar called kings and Dukes *Dei gratia.* To vvhats end serue these vvords? to shew by ther title, that they acknowledge no superior. And yet vvill they tread vpon God vwith ther seate, vnder that cloke. So it is but an abuse and disguisement. vvhen they vaunt hat they raigh *Dei gratia.* Is not this excellent doctrine to be preached in a Monarchie? and a fyne Deskant, vpon *Dei gratia*? Yet he goeth an further. *c. 5. v. 21.* Kings maik ther boast that they raigh *Dei gratia*, yet they
F 3
dispoise

dispile the Maiestie of God. *Voila, quelle est la rage & forcenerie de tous Rois.* Hear is no exception but a generall accusation: and to maik that good, he addeth this strength to it, *It is common and ordinaire to all kings, to exclude God from the government of the world.*

Consider well that Calvin writt this, not as a Politician but as a Deuine, and in his prime and maister peace, his institutions: he deliuers these daingerous positions in his sermon, to the people, and in his readings vpon Daniel, not in priuat discourses: and as matters of discipline and doctrine to be generallie beleaued: and so making a course against Nabugad nezzar, he runs the wild goose chase against all kings, and that rather owt of spleā, then owt of his text. For to what end and pupose tend these speeches so scandalous, and derogatoire to princes? certanlie, to disgrace scepters and sooueraines, both for follie and impietie.

And bycause yow shall see how well Calvin and Luther doe symbolise in this poynt, that they speak one language, and both weare like coolors, and the same fashion. I will deliuer vnto yow how Luthers opinion of thes poynts, agreeth with Caluins. These *knaves*, of the *nobilitie*, tyrants,

tom. 7. fol. 441. *Nebulones isti ex nobilitate, tyranni, &c. qui inducunt animum, ideo Deum nobis euangelium dedisse, eosque ex carcere pontificio expeditisse, ut possent ipsi auaritia sua litare.* And in epistolis fol. 350. *Principem esse, & non ex aliqua parte laironem esse, aut non, aut vix possibile est, a Prince can not be, but a robber, and oppressor, & tom. 3. fol. 325. Non est Principis esse Christianum, paucos esse Christianos oportet.* And tom. 6. fol. 143. in psalm. 101. *Mirum non est seculares Reges, Dei hostes esse, eiusque verbum hostiliter persequi. Hoc ipsis à natura est insitum, hac eorum proprietas.* Whear it is worthie to be obserued, what an Antipathia ther is between Royaltie, and religion, by Luthers rules: and so between Lutheranisme and loyaltie, by as good consequenc, (which is the mayn quæstion.) But proceed. tom. 3. latin. fol. 459. in psal. 45. *Aula principum, verè possunt dici, sedes & thronus diaboli, ubi tot sunt diaboli, quot ferè aulici.* For such as the king is, such is the court like to be: and yf the courts be the thrones, kings must be the Deuels. Tom. 2. fol. 81. *De seculari magistratu. Principes flagitiosissimi nebulones.* The reason he giueth, is this. *Sunt enim Dei lictores, & carnifices, quibus ira diuina ad puniendos improbos, & ad conseruantiam eternam pacem uti solet.* & fol. 190. *Nullum nequè ius, nequè*

1.

2.

3.

4.
Nota.

5.

6.

filium neque veritatem apud principes seculares reperirisset. And then yf kings and princes haue neither honestie, truthe nor iustice, *Quid ego principes doceam, & huiusmodi porcis scribam.* why should I write, and instruct such porks? *tom. 3. fol. 149.*

Who can not discern how these two holie men iumped in vnitie, as led with the same spirit; ayming both at one end, which is to noorish a deadlie feud in all mens mynds, against kings and crownes, that will not subscribe, to ther superintendencie, and Caluins Institutions. And tha: you might more euidentlie discern that, read *c. 6. v. 25.* vpon Daniel. Saith he *Darius by his example will condemn all those, who at this day profess them selfs, either Catholik kings, or Christian kings, or defenders of the faith: and yet not onely, they doe deface and burie all trew pietie and religion. but they corrupt and deprave the vvhole vvorship of God.* Hear is in dead work, for the Cowper; not by a Marprelat, but by a Mar-prince. The most Christian king must be again new Catechised, and learn a new Christian *Credo.* Hear is a new portraiture of a reformed Catholik, drawn for the instruction of the most Catholik king; and a new priuate spirit, to direct the Catholik.

The defendor of the faith, bycaus he erreth

erret in his faith; not hauing a sauing and iustifying faith; must haue a new faith created, and inspired into hym, by this great Prophet. And so by this new model, all the old religion in the church, and all the lawes in the state concerning it, must be abolished. Thus presumed Calvin, to reform kings and government, and to build a new ark, to saue and preserve the world, from an inundation of impietie, ignorance, and irreligion; of vvhom I may trevvlie say, *plus quam regnare videtur, cui ita liceat censuram agere regnantium*. But of this, I shall more pertinentlie speak in the appendix. In the interim. Can a man sovv more seditious seeds, yt he vvould seek to Cantonize a kingdome, into severall circles, as they haue doon ther french church? Yet shall yovv heare hym preach, more like a Svissler; and Lutheranize, vvith the proper spirit of Luther. *cap 6. v. 3. 4.* he toucheth kings to the quick; and describes, what kynd of beasts they ar, at this tyme. *Les Rois sont presque tous bebetes, & brutaux: ausi semblablement, sont-ils comme les chevaux, & les asnes de bestes brutes*. And he giueth this reason; bycause they honor and prefer most, ther Bavdes, and ther vices. What a seditious declamation is this, against the title, and maiestie of Gods anointed? Mark
the

the age, and tyme, vvhhen Calvin vvrit this book: and note in that age vvhat renoumed kings, France had: Levvies 12. Frances the 1. and Henry the 2. vvhat maiestie wisdom and magnificenc vvear in the emperor Maximilian and Charles? vvhat state in Henry 8. of England, vvhat hope in Edward, vvhat vertue in Marie? for Scotland, Iames the 5. raigned, and two such Maries, as ar worthie to be Canonized. And for Castill and Portugal, there kings never floorished more, for government, greatnes, encreas of state, discoueries of a new world, peac, and plétie. Then vvhat vvvas his meaning, to affirm that almost all kings wear so stupid, and brutish? Surelie to bread and noorish, a contempt of kings; and to induce the people, that liue in free states, to despise and hate them; and conninglie to seduce them that liue in kingdomes, to be sorie for ther yoke and seruitude: to shake of ther fetters, and purchase ther libertie (Specialie for religion). for at that he aymed most (the propagation of his doctrine): and he knevv, vvell, that in popular estates he might preuayle stronglier, and vvith better hope of success, (for all his religion is popularitie, and pleasing,) and as Svinglius fownd he could not induce Frances the first, to applaude hym: So by the exampl of
Henry

Henry the second, Calvin ded perceave that kings, and *Dei gratia*, vwear blocks in his waye. And therfor to remooue them, that they might not empeach the course and current of his preachings, and proceeding C. 6. v. 12. he speaks in a tune full of sharpes, and menaces. *Abdicant se potestate, terreni principes, dum insurgunt contra Deum: imò indigni sunt, qui censeantur in hominum numero. Potius ergo conspuere oportet, in illorum capita, quam illis parere, ubi sic proteruiunt ut velint spoliare Deum suo iure.* What a learned homelie is this, to teach subiects obedience? Ioyne all these good instructions together, and so shall yovv best interpret and explain one by an other. *D. Bilson* in his book of Christian subiection, taketh paynes to expovvnd and vvrest Caluins vvords; and to saue his credit, sets the best coolors on them he could. 1. Calvin (saith he) in this place, speaks not a word of depriving princes, or resisting them vvith armes: but onelie shovveth, that Daniel ded rightlie defēd hym self, for not obeying the kings wicked edi& , ioyned with the dishonor of god. Secondly by *Abdicant se*, he meanes not they loos ther crowvnes, but that they loose ther povver, to command in thes things: but in lavvfull things, they retain ther povver. 3. For the phrase *conspuere*,

square, it seems something hard; yet the comparison so standing as he maiks it (vvwhether it vwear better, to contemn ther impious edicts, or to obey them:) Calvin vrgeth it in vehement vvordes. And this is farr from Rebellion. An other excuseth it, that it vvas spoken *comparatiue*, not rebelliouslie: that is yf the king should contradi& Gods lawv. A poor shift: but he sets not down, vvho should be iudg of that, between God and the king. And so it is *nihil ad rem*. I answer to the first, it is idle and impertinent: what yf he vse not these vvords of depriuation and resistanc? (for then had he erred too palpable:) ar therfor the other vvords he vseth, excusable? For Daniels right full defenc, it is not pertinent to the quæstion, D. Allen mayd. Besides what, was Daniels defenc, what arms took he? All with owt contempt of the king: humilitie prayer, and patienc. Not after the Geneua fashion so brauelie, as to spitt in Nabugodonosors face; nor alledging that he was not worthie to line emoug men.

And for the second, by (*abdicant se*) what meanes he, that kings doe loofe? not ther Crownes, but onely povver to command, let vs speak plaine English, without halting. Yow confess, the king loofeth

looseth his authoritie and soouerein power, to command (and yow add obscurlie in these things.) *Yow mean, in matters of religion,* for so it is to be vnderstood, (tho yow cast a cloke over the words, and cover the matter. Then I, desyre to know, what is a kings crown without power to cōmand? He that teacheth, they loose ther royall power, dothe he not mean, they forfeit it? and yf they doe forfeit it, who is to challeng and raik the forfeiture, of a crown? but by such lectures, doth not Calvin stirr vp and arme against the king his trayterous subiects, yf they reuolt from ther obedienc, for religion? Is not that; the grownd of all the combustion, and ciuill wars in France? Yea, but in other things *lawful*, (yow say) kings retaine ther power. First these ar maister Bilscons words, not Caluins: for they contradict Calvin, whose proposition is *indefinite, abdicant se potestate*, they loose and forfeit all ther authoritie and power: absolutelie, not after a sort: and in all things, not in some particuler: and for altogether not for a tyme (for when kings ar dispossessed they seldome recouer ther hold againe.) Besides, what court, or what magistrates ar fitt to heare and determin whear in kings may loose ther power, and whearin not? and to decide and iudg the difference,

rence, between these vnlawful matters yow speak of and the lawfull: tho Caluins words import no restriction, at all. The vvich doth playnlie appear, by his harsh phrased (as yow tearm it) of spitting in ther faces: that is, as yow interpret, to desye them to ther faces, to contemn them, and ther acts. But this yow say is farr from rebellion: trew, and yet nothing to the purpose. For rebellion is but one *species* of Treason, and therfor tho he teach not rebellion, he may teach treason. And so yovv help hym litl. Labor to extenuate the vvords as much, as yovv can: and yet, vvill they be reallie heynous and seditious. For he that, houldeth a king is not vvorthie to be or liue in *hominum numero*, dothe he not as it vvear ciect and *excommunicate* hym, from all goverment, and confyne and censure hym to liue vvith beasts as Nabugodonosor ded. Yf yovv teach, that *insurgunt contra Deum*, doe yovv not maik hym hatefull for his impietie?

But to conclude, this yovv grant in effect to be his meaning. That yf the king threaten Daniel, except he vvor ship the Idol: or yf the king of France seake to compell his subiects, to obey his lavve, and *communicate*, at the alter of the church: then *abdicat se potestate*; the king ought to loose
obe-

obedienc: subiects ar not bownd to obey hym, (but rather to spit in his face, vvhich is a contēpt in the highest degree,) and that vvas the cavvse, vvhy Doctor Allen ded obiect that against Calvin, as seditious doctrine.

Besides, he mayd his ovvn quarrel, Gods quarrel: the defens of Calvinism, as the defens of religion: and so embroyled the king and the kingdome, in perpetual quarrell, for his doctrine.

But D. Bilson, ded knowe, or might haue knowven: that seditious doctrines, wear not so daintie at Geneua. For in hatred of the thre Q. Maries, of England and Scotland, he set abroach and defended that poyson and factious doctrin of *Gunnocratia*: and by his inspiration, *knox* and *Goodman*, ded publish ther books, against ther lawfull princes.

Besides, look vpon the storie of Scotland, printed by Wautroller. p. 213. and yow shall tynd, that *knox* for an Apologie of his practises, alledged Caluins authoritie, *That it is lawfull for subiects, to reform religion, vvhen princes vvill not.*

But Caluins opinion of that poynt, may be more manifestlie prooued, by the practise of his darling maister Beza: who sowndly ded vnderstand his doctrine and ded brauely

uelie second hym in all his platts. In the preface to the new testament: dedicated to Quene Elizabeth. 1564. he vsed these words. *Quo die, scilicet (19. decembris.) ante biennium, Gallica nobilitas, (illustissimo Principe Condæ Duce,) tuus, & illustrissimorum quorundam Germania principum, subsidijs freta: non procul urbe Druidum fortissime praliata: prima restituenta in Gallijs, Christiana religionis fundamenta, sanguine suo, feliciter consecravit.* So then hear is bothe resisting with armes: and desijng ther king, in the face of his armie: and this I hope maister Bilson, will confess to be rebellion. And this act, which others would shadow, Beza iustifieth so boldlie: that in the same place, (commending the good seruices at Meaux and Orleans, and that famous battel of Dreux, wherein he was a principal, not an accessorie, he addeth, *Id quod eo liberius testor, quod istis tum Concilijs, tum etiam plerisque rebus, quando ita Deo visum est, interfui.* To that place, (objected to the Calvinists, as an argument to conuince them of seditious, both doctrine and practises) maister Bilson sheweth much care, and studie, to answer.

1. That battel, (saith he) which Beza speaketh of at Dreux, was neither against the lawes, nor the king.

2. They took not armes to deprive the king,

king, or annoye the realme, but to saue them selfs, from the oppression of one, that abused the kings yowth.

3. The Duke of Guise, hating the nobles of France (hymself being a strainger,) and to tread down the professors of religion, that he might strenthen hym self, to taik the crowvn, yf ought should fall to the king (being vnder yeares) or to his lyne: armed hym self to the scald, &c.

4. The nobles of France, perceauing his mallice, and his iniustice, with private violence to murder so manie innocents: gathered forces together to keape ther own liues, from the furie of the blood sucker. And in that case, yf they repell force, what haue yow to saye against that?

6. For the kings consent, he was yong and in the Guises hands; therfor his consent, vvas nothing vworth (that a subiect should doe execution by the sword, vpon his peopl, withowt order of Iustice) The king had neither age to discern it, nor fredome to denie it, nor lawe to decree it.

5. We know not the lawes of that land, nor the circumstanc of these warrs?

7. Lastlie. Beza, saith he, alloweth, and exhorteth obedienc to magistrates. *Libro anseff. fidei. cap. 5. §. 45.* in these words.

G

Quod

Quod autem attinet ad priuatos homines, tenere illos oportet, plurimum inter se differre, iniuriam inferre, & pati iniuriam. Iniuriam pati nostrum est, sic precipiente Deo, cum nobis illam in carcere non licet, ex nostra vocationis prescriptio, &c. neque aliud ullum remedium proponunt priuatis hominibus tyranno subiectis, prater uia emendationem, precus & lachrimas.

At larg, I set down his Apologie for Beza, and the reasons: bothe bycause D. Billon, was at that tyme, a man selected and chosen to be the champion of that great cawse; and his book was published with so great applause, as yf he had battred down the seminares of Room and Douay.

Touching the first poynt, he is confident, that the battell of Dreux, was neither against the law, nor the king: and yet in the 5. he corrects and contradicts hym self, confessing that he knowes not the lawes of the land, nor the circumstance of the warr. So yow see this great Doctor had a conscienc: to affirm the certantie of a matter, whereof he had not scienc. And so I might leaue hym bett, with his own weapon. But was that battel neither against law, nor prince? assuredlie against bothe, as yow shall fynd by the lawes of Charles the VIII. 1487. and of Frances the first 1532. and of Frances the 2. at Fountainbleay

bleau 1560. the wich lawes, I shall haue occasion more fitlie to pleade, in the case of Rochel and Montauban, in this discours.

But how doth D. Bilson, prooue that the battel of Dreux was not against the king? Bycause, the 1. Duke of Guise, ded cawse that battel, and 2. armed hym self into the feald, in hate of the nobles; 3. hym self being a strainger: and 4. the king being in his hands? It seames this man was not well instructed, or that his wise patron had not leasure to peruse and examin it: he tells so manie vntruthes together. First it is certan, that battel was not in king Frances his tyme, but in the raigñ of Charles the ninthe; and after the death of king Frances, all men knovv, (that vwear acquainted vvith the proceedings of that tyme) that the howse of Guise ded beare no swaye in the court: the Duke vvas mayd a strainger to the state, his vvings vwear clipt; the Quene moother, the king of Nauar, and the constable sat at the stearne and guided all. And so the king vvas not in Guises hands (as he surmised). And in that batle, the constable vvas the cheafe commander; he and the Marshall of St. Andrews, vwear the kings liuetennants, and had the kings authoritie and sufficient commission to warrant ther actions. The

Duke of Guise led the Arcargard; and tho it vvas his fortune to stand maister of the feald, and vvinne the glorie of the daye: yet had he not a charge at that batle, but of his own companies. And so he sayleth in the verrie grovndvwork of his answer.

Not.

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in his com

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ses.

And vvhether he saith, that the protestant Princes took armes, onelie to saue them selfs from ther oppression by Mr. de Guise? it is a blind reason, for a cleare cavvse. For yf that onelie had bean ther reason: vvhether they see the Cōstable, marching in the vvauntgard (vvhether none of them could accuse to haue abused the kings yowth, or sought ther oppression): vvhether ded they not then, laye downn ther armes, and depart the feald? and yf it had bean onelie, to defend them selfs; vvhether ded they not staye at Orleans, or somme other nests of rebellion, till they had bean assaulted; rather then to affront and assaile the kings armie? Why ded they sett vpon the Constable, the kings Vicegerent, and the the honor of the Admirals howse, (and the Admirals kinsman and great frend, when he was prisoner at Melun for his religion, by commandement of Henry II.) Yf ther end had bean only to saue them selfs, from the Duke of Guise; vvhether ded they fight vwith the Constable? No, this is,

is, busa mask; for Beza hym self, play nlie
confesseth, that the seald vvas fought,
for this end, vvith ther blood to restore
religion.

And vvheras he inveigheth so hotelie,
against the Duke of Guise, that he was a
strainger in France: it seames he knew not,
that the Duke was discended of the line
and brainch of Charlemaigne, (who was
no strainger in France?) or that he hymself
was a peare of France: that he was coosen
German to the Prince of Cōdie; or that his
moother was Anthonette de Bourbon: and
that his predecessors, had long enioyed offi-
ce and honor, in the court of France. Nei-
ther peradventure had he hard, of the great
seruices doone by hym, at Rome, at Mets,
at Verdun, at Theouuille, and Callice
(when all France was in Mourning and
distress, after the Admiral had lost S.
Quintins.) But that dreame, that the Du-
ke of Guise aspyred to the Crowne, (yf the
king and his issew fayle:) is to be pittied
rather then answered: a fable (taken owt of
the legend of Lorrain,) and the other li-
bells of that tyme. Weigh and examin it,
and see the leuitie of follie. The king was
young: his brothers yonger: ther moother
liuing; the king of Nauar, ther trustie and
noble frēd (and a brasen gate, betweā Guise

and the crowne:) and the nobilitie of France, as he saith, mayd an association against the howse of Guise. Then was it not likelie?

Now it being apparentlie fals, that the king was in the hands, and power of the Guises, I com to the proposition, that the king had neither age to discern it, nor freedom to denie it, nor lawes to decree it: it resteth to examin that proposition, that the kings consent, authorising that armie at Dreux was nothing worth, bycaus he was not of age, nor at libertie.

What yf the king had not age, to discern it? was it therfor without warrant or law? A king haith two bodies: his bodie Politick, as it never dyeth so is it never defectiue of authoritie and direction. The acts of the bodie politick, be not abated by the naturall bodys accessse: the bodie politick is not disabled to rule and govern by the nonage of the naturall, see 26. *lib. ass. placit.* 24. whear by iustice Thorps iudgment, the gift of a king is not defeated by his nonage, nor shall not embleamish the bodie. In the book of ass. see the case, tit. droyt. plac. 24. anno 6. E. 3. f. 91. for a writt of right brought by E. III. of a mannor, as heyre to R. I. The exception of nonage against the king was not admitted. For yf the bodie natural die;

die; yet the bodie politick (which magnifieth the natural bodie,) is not sayd to die. So 4. Eliz. for leases of the Duchy mayd by E. 6. all the Iudges resolued, they vwear good, tho the king was in his minoritie. For the bodie politick extolleth the naturall, and altereth the qualitie of it. And so though the kings bodie natural in his minoritie can not discern and iudge: yet that disableth not a king, that the acts of his minoritie, ordered by his counsell, and by the Regent, should be of no validitie. Nay, your own Hottoman, in his Franco-gallia, will teach yow an other lesson, (tho he was Bezaes trustie Acharas.) Resolute me; would anie counsellor like it well, yf a Catholick in England should affirme, (as he might more trewlie) that the chainge and alteration of religion by king Edward VI. was not warrantable, hauing not age, to discern it; nor freedome to denie it, (being in the hāds of the protector and Northumberland:) nor lawes to decree it, (till by his vncls authoritie and greatnes, new lawes wear enacted for it.) Yf yow approue not this: why doe yow disprooue the same in k. Charles IX. of France? was the age of the one, a barr in law, and not the others? or was the one, an absolute king, and not the other? or was k. Edwards consent, sufficient

to authorise his vncl's doeing in spiritual matters: and was k. Charles his consent nothing worth, to authorise the Constable and his armie, to pursew, his rebells?

Now concerning the last poynt, touching Beza his opinion: I must turn that Canon against hym self; for yf Beza sayd trewlie, *iniuriam patimur: nobis vim vi arcere, non licet*: yfit be certan, *nullum remedium proponitur priuatis hominibus, tyranno subiectis, prater viam emendationem, &c.* then surelie, maister Bilson is betrayed by hym, he seeks to defend: and Beza betrayed the Admiral and Prince of Condie, to draw them into the playnes of Dreux against the king, to fight for ther religion: when *vim vi arcere non licet*.

I will not stand to refell that opinion and error of D. Bilson, that the Prince of Condie ded not ouve *simple subiection*, to the king of France, but respectiue homage, and so was not mearly a subiect: bycause it shouuerh a palpabl ignorance of the lawes and customes of France: and besides that could not excuse the Admiral, vwho at all could not plead anie such protection, or alledg anie such prerogatiue. For yf H. 2. might committ hym, to prison lawfully: Charles the 9. as lawfully might cut of his head. But forasmuch as Bezacs sentenc,

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is coninglie vsed, and cast as a mist to
blynd the eyes of the reader: I vwill disperse
the mist, and let yow see what kind a man
he was in his proper humor, and *in primis*
naturalibus.

Read his positions, and Catechism of
sedition, (the practise of his pietie) the
book called, *Vindicia contra tyrannos*;
whear he acts the part of Iunius Brutus, a
noble Roman, (but the suppressor and
enemie of kings.) First (pag. 15.) he pro-
pounds this question: yf subiects be bownd
to obey ther kings, when they command
against Gods lawe? and then pag. 22. he
resolueth, vve must obey kings for Gods
cause, when they obey God. And pag. 24.
as the vassel looseth his sief, (his lordship)
yf he committ fellonie: so the king loo-
seth his right, and his realm also. And
aboue all other, this is notable pag. 65. a
conspiracie is good or ill as the end is, at
which it aymeth. which is a most wicked
Maxime, sitt to mantain Rauillac, or Pol-
trot, or to be a buckler for the conspirators
of Amboys. Yet this pag. 66. goeth a de-
gree further. The Magistrates, and one
part of the realm, maye resist the king
being an Idolater: as Lobna reuolted from
Ioram, for forsaking God. Doth not this
stronglie patronise the battel of Dreux?
doth

doth it not teach subiects, to rebell, and to plead, *sic dicit Dominus*, for ther defence? but note well how synelie, he fortifieth this axiome. pag. 132. The government of the kingdome, is not giuen to the king alone: but also to the officers of the Realme. And again, pag. 103. France, Spayn, and England, ar customarily consecrated, and as it wear put in possession of ther charge, by the states, peares, and Lords, (which present the people.) And p. 199. ther is a stipulation in kingdomes hereditarie. As in France, when the king is Crowned. The Bushops of Beauuois and Laon, ask the people, yf they desyre and command, this man, shall be king. And vvhat then? surely it is no argument that the people, choose hym. It is an acceptation, no election: and a declaration, onely of ther submission, obedienc and fidelitie, as yow may euidentlie perceauue, by Frances Rosselet anno 1610. the ceremonies, at the coronation. When was ther euer an assemblée of the states, to elect, or consecrate a king of France? the kings, never count the tyme of ther raign, from the day of ther consecration, but of ther entrappe: and Charles the .7. (Gaguin and Giles can witnes,) was nether crowned nor sacred in eight yeaeres, after he begonn his raigne.

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And for the Peares? what think yow, that they ar as Ephori? No they ar pares *inter se*, not cōpanions to the king. They ar not states, as in Holland, to rule and direct all affayres: for in France and England all authoritie depēds vpon the kings; and yf they wear his consorts, they wear not his inferiours. What is the state, but the authoritie of the Prince? who onelie, by his letters patents createth the pears, disposeth all offices, giveth all honors, receaueth all homages, (as the sole fountain, from whence springeth nobilitie and authoritie:) and he that either would restraine that soveraintie, or communicate it with others; maketh no differenc of the Crowne of a king, and the la Beretta of the Duke of Venice. Manie such like rules, and positions, haith he published fitt introductions; for Anarchie, and mutinies: most of them false, and all wicked: vayles onelie to cover the face and name of treason, that it might not appear, in his proper and vglie shape.)

I might heare trauel and wearie yow, with as Good stuffowt of the book *de iure magistratus*, (a bird of the same nest, for if it wear not Bezas, as manie think, It was Ottomans his Camerado.) But I will leaue them bothe, for they touch the string of soveraintie with too rough a hand: nay rather

rather they straine to break it, when they teach so grosse treasons, that the states ar about the king; that the bodie is about the head (a monstrous doctrine:) as yf anie man could (with iudgment) maik a quæstion, whether the people should be directed and commanded by the maister or the man; by the subject, or the soouerein: by the Princ of Condie and the Admiral, or by king Charles. and king Philip had reason to cut of the head of the iustice of Aragõ; and to teach the people, what was the trew meaning, of *nos qui podemos tanto, come vos, &c.* All which paradoxe, it wear easie to refell: but that I haue vndertaken onelie, to discouer, not to combate and encounter them: and bycause they ar learnedlie and religiouslie confuted all readie, by Barklaie, Bauricau, and Blackwood.

Onelie by the vvaye, I must informe yow; that they deal politicklie and conninglie, and professe not openlie and blantlie, to haue anie liking, to chainge the state, and depose, or ouerrule kings. But artificallie they manage all. First to bread a dislike of Monarchs; then to show the inconuenienc, to depend vpon the edicts of one man: then may they much the better, magnifie the authoritie of magistrates, by whome they might reforme idolatrie; and why the

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the Creatures of a king suppress the creator of ther power. And yet, be sure, the Consistories and elders must rule all: and be iudges, bothe of the cleargie, lawes counsell, and king. They be the Rabbins, that owt of ther Sanhedrim, must govern both church, and kingdome, by the Oracles of Geneva.

I may not forget, how vureuerentlie *Eusebius Philadelphus*, (*Sc. Mr. T. Beza*) vsed king Charles in his book of Reueille matmattin: (whear vsuallie he calls the king Tyrant: and maiks his Anagramme *Chastelour desloyal*. Read his rymes, and scandalous reproches against the Q. moother. Peruse the 40. Articles recorded in that book, for the better aduancing of seditious gouernment. As art. 25. that all cheafs and Generalls, must obserue ther, ecclesiastical discipline, ordayned by the Synodes. And art. 40. they ar bownd neuer to disarme, so long as religion is pursewed, (persecuted by the king, he meaneth.) So much patienc, haue these Saints: that seeking to reforme all others, can not reforme ther own affections But yf yow peruse the 14. and 15. art. yow shall discern the brauerie of ther irregular passions, intending therby onelie to ouerthrow the king, and rhe familie of Valoys.

These

These wear the holie articles of Bearn 1574. coyned with his stampe, and communicated at Millun to all ther Moschees, that they might the more ströglie maik warr (as they Sayd) against ther enemies, till it pleased God to turn the hart of the French tyrant. Thus, *ad gussum populi, principatus exigitur*. At the same tyme, was framed, and dispersed abroad, the lyfe of Katharine de Medicis, *Francogallia*, the *Toxjan* of *Massacreurs*, and the *Legend of Lorraine*. (For that honor the howse of Guise haith long had: that no man professe I hym self, an enemy to the church: but he was likewise, at deadly feud with them.)

Heare I might taik vp; and stay yovv no longer, with the description of ther vertues and loyaltie: but that I desyre to present vnto yovv, vwhat opinion the graue and learned men of the church of England; and others also of great iudgment, haue and had of these Euangelists of Geneva.

1. Doctor Sutclif, in his answer to a libel supplicatorie p. 194. confesseth that the protestants of the french church, taught for 30. yeares violent reformation of religion, by the nobilitie, people, and priuate persōs.

2. And in an other place, Beza (saith he) in his book *de iure Magistratus*, dothe arme the subiects against the Prince: and he saith, that

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that book overthroweth in effect, all the authoritie of Christian kings, and Magistrates; and for the book of *Vindicia contra tyrannos*, vvhich manie affirm to be Bezas, or Ottomans: It geues powver (saith he) to subiects, not onelie to resist- but to kill the Prince, yf he impugn gods religion.

3. The same is also averred, by the late Archbush. D. Bancroft, (in his book of the Suruay of discipline:) a man, vvho exactlie had learned, examined, and obserued ther courses, and positions, and the great dainger growving to the state, by the ministers either Scotising, or Geneuating; (for so he tearms them.) And the book of dangerous positions, pag. 192. dothe demonstrate also the same.

To these I may add the iudgment, of that famous Lawyer, Frances Baldwin, (vvho had familiarlie conuersed, vvith Calvin at Gencua:) in his book, called *Responsio altera, ad Iohannem Calvinum*, Paris. 1562. pag. 74. *Mirabar, quorsum euaderet inflammatus nuns quidam apostolus.* (Sc. m^r. Theodore) *qui cum hic concionaretur suis auditoribus, commendabat vehementer, extraordinarium illud exemplum Leuitarum, strictis gladijs per castra discurrentium: & obuios quosque idololatrias, trucidantium. Sed nunc audio, te vix contentum esse talibus Leuitis.* And, pag. 128. *Le-*
uiores

uira (saith he) *sunt illa, cum sacris & sepulchris, & ossibus principum ac martyrum barbarum bellum indicium videmus: cum civitates occupari, fana spoliari audimus, &c.* But what need I labour to proove that Beza, and his followers, haue cawsed all these vproars, and commotions in France: when he hym self Epistola 40. Christophero Thretio, confessech, that they must fight it out. *Ego quidem pacem nullam, nisi debellatis hostibus, ausim sperare.* Yf yow ask, who wear these enemies? he answers, *Cacolycorum castra tras Ligerim sunt.* Therby he means, the Catholiks and the kings armie. And a litl before, *ab eo tempore, nostri (copys felicissime instauratis) Tolosanum agrum infestant; Inde ad Rhodanum usque progressi, occupatis aliquot passim oppidis & arcibus, in quibus praesidium reliquerunt.* So they spoyled the contrie, disturbed the peace, surprised the kings townes, fortified, and oppugned the kings forcees: and yet these men, Beza alloweth, and encoorageth. Therby yow see, how apt this holie man was, to ruffle in the world. But this seames to be *morbis in natu* in the Sacramentaries; and that *malus cornus malum unum*: for Swinglius (the grand father of them all) tom. 1. art. 42. *Reges* (saith he) *quando perfide, & extra regulam Christi egerint, possunt cum Deo deponi.* In defence of this

this Principle, D. Bilson, answereth; first more wisely and with discretion, *I undertake* (saith he) *to defend each severall mans opinion* (though Swinglius was not euerie man; being the fownder and principall author of that sect.) Secondlie saith he, they may be deposed, when they aduance vngodlienes, as Saul was. Thirdlie, Swinglius sheweth the cause, why magistrates may be displaced: but he geues no private man leaue to draw the sword, or offer violence, to anie princ, (though a tyrant.) And fourthlie (saith he) Swinglius speaketh of princes elected, not successiue and absolute: and yet he speaks of them also in that article, but allowes no force to be vsed against them. Is not hear two contradictories, in one sentenc? *Transcat cum reliquis erroribus* But answer this yf they may be deposed as Savvl was; who is to depose them? hear is no Samuell, nor anie prophet. May the people? no saith he (blushing as ashamed of the grossnes) no private man: is it then a secret reserued to the Eldors? no neither, for Swinglius hymself, deales plainlier, and art. 42. and 43. he expresseth his own meaning. *Cum suffragijs, & consensu totius aut maiori partis, multitudinis, tyrannus tollitur. fit Deo auspice.* Hear is no exception, electiue and successiue, ar both concluded:

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and

and the people, haue the sword put into there hands. And to maik, it more playne; see his epistl Conrado Somnio l. 4. pag. 368. *Permittendum est Casari, officium debitum* (but conditionallie) *si modo fidem nobis permittat illibatam. Si nos illud negligentes patimur, negata religionis rei erimus.* So this, factious minister taiks vpon hym to determine, whether and vpon what tearmes Cæsar shall hold his place, or be depofed. Gentle, they will obey Cæsar, yf Cæsar will be aduifed and directed by them; other wise what is ther course, they will taik with hym? l. 4. Epist. fol. 196. *ad Klmenses. Monet eos, ut coram auditoribus suis, sensim incipiant detrabere personam imperio Romano. Quomodo, stultum sit, agnoscere hoc imperium in Germania, quod non agnoscitur Roma, unde nomen habet?* Was not this Caluins course, for Monarchies? the verrie same. But hear hym further. *Nimis amantes estis rei Romana; quid Germania cum Roma? sed prudenter & paulatim agenda sunt huiusmodi, atque cum paucis, quibus credere possis, quod ardua sunt.* Note, how this Swiz labours to vndermyne the empyre, and blow it vp with his breath: and what trayterous aud seditious counsell, he geues for ther libertie. *Sensim & paulatim*, not openlie and grosslie, nor all at once: *& coram auditoribus*; it is doctrine for a pulpit,

pulpit, a sermon to the people (who ar lik-
kest to applawd it.) And how? *incipiant de-*
strahere personam imperio Romano, what haue
they to doe with Roome, or Roome with
them? This man speaks naturallie in his
own language, and by hym the princes of
Europe may see, vvhat they ar to expect
of these reformers, vvhen they ar armed
vvith povver.

Now, as I haue declared, the principles,
and Aphorismes of the great Triumvirat
of the french Church, *Syrvinglius*, *Caluin*,
and *Beza*; the tribunes of the people, and
the *boue-feux*, and ringleaders of rebellion,
(vvhome our learned Doctor of Oxf. vvould
gladlie haue defended.) So it shall appea-
re *ex effectis*, that Geneva is the school of
rebellion, and the seminarie of all the ciuil
vvarts in France. Neither vvil I blott ther
names vvith anie false aspersions: for as ther
practise is the best Commentarie of ther
positions, and vvritings: so it is the best
tryal of ther loyaltie: and can geue in best
euidenc, vvwhether they be (as they wold
seame to be) good Patriots, and trevv sub-
iects.

First therfor, call to mynd, both ther
beginning; ther proceeding; and ther con-
tinuanc, to this tyme. And in all these,
three things ar speciallie to be obserued, 1.

1. ther manie conspiracies 2. ther manie and great batles against the king and his officers, 3. and the horribil owtrages, and attempts, both incomperable for crueltie, and incredibl for disloyaltie.

*The Con-
spiracie of
Amboys.*

I will begin with *Amboys*, (whear they begann to act the first Scene of ther Tragedies. And therof I will deliuer, a trew and breafe Narration.

At the assemblie of Nantes 1560. Certan of the Caluinists conspired to Seaze the kings person, and surprise the court: and to apprehend and endite the two principal of the Guises, for seeking to invade and posses the crown, to ruine the princes of the blood, and to suppressse and banish religion. Which was with great deliberation concluded in Ianuarie, to be executed at Bloys, the 10. of March after. The cheafe of this conspiracie, was Godfrey de Barry called de Renaudie, (who mayd the Prince of Condé partaker of his counsell, and acquainted with ther platt; which he disliked not, yf it might be performed by-form of lawe.) This was straingelie discovered, first by the Cardinal of Lorrains secretarie; and after by the aduertisement of Cardinal Grauellan.

And therupon by good aduise, the king soodainlie remooued to Amboys, and so disapoin-

disappointed the conspirators, both of the tyme and place. And by that meanes, the forces leuied and appointed for that seruice, wandred vp and down, withowt head and direction: and so the Duke of Nemours, with the trowpes he had, apprehended manie of them, and emong the rest, the Baron of *Castellau*: and Monsieur de *Pardullan*, sleuv Renaudie, the general: and diuers others wear executed. And the Duke of Guise, providentlie took order for the safetie of the king and the court: and so assured hym self of the person of the Prince of Conde, that he had not power, to attempt anie thing to ther preiudice: and yet afterward, he was committed and condemned to loose his head: but enlarged by Charles the ninth, and for politick reasons, acquitted and declared Innocent. And this was the first act, pretended by the Calvinists, to be doone, for religion, & *bonum publicum*.

See the commentaries of M. Mic. Castellau.

The like was after put in practise, against Charles the IX. at Meaulx, 1567. the which the king happilie escaped, by the ayd and noble seruice, of the Duke of Nemours and the Swissers. Ther purpose was, to haue possessed them selfs of the kings person, and of the Duke of Aniou, and to haue slayne the Quene moother, (but by

2.
The conspiracie of Meaulx.

recouering Paris, they wear all saued:) and the Cardinal of Lorrain, (whome they principallie desired to entrap) was forced to fliſpeadilie, and ſecretlie, to Reames, for his ſafegard, (whear not long after he Dyed.)

3.
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Comment
M. Caſtel-
nan.

I omitt the practiſes, at S. Germain in Laye, againſt bothe the king, and Quene moother: which was ſo manifeſtlic diſcouered, that *Mole* and *Cocenas* loſt ther heads for it. And the error in the ill managing of that matter, (ſo manie heads and hands being in it) bred the occaſion of great trouvbles.

2.
Battell.

Fur ther more, to informe yow of ther open and actual rebellion, whearin they ſought by the ſword in ther hands, to com- pell the king, to Pacification. Remember firſt that furious and memorable battell, vpon the playnes of Dreux; the batle of S. Denis; the batle of Iarnac; the batle of Coutras: the batle of Moncontour: and the beſeaging of Roane, (whear the king of Nauar loſt his lyfe.) At S. Denis the Conſtable was ſlayne: and at Iarnac the Prince of Conde: and at Coutras the noble Duke of Ioyeuſe, ended his Dayes. The ſealdes ar yet ſtayned: France was let blood too prodigallie, and ſtraingers wear brought in as ſurgeons, to launch the wounds of it
(which

(which haue left behind them greater cause of lamentation, then remembrance.)

And for that of Moncontour, whear the Admiral stood alone, as the sole Champion of the Reformed churches: the *Missa-Fulda* ded testifie, what ther principal quarrel was; which by Bezaes deuise was aduanced, as a Basilisk, to beat down the Royal standard of France, and the *Labarum* and cross of *Constantine*.

Touching the Owtrages, and assassina-tes committed by these holie fathers, and ther disciples (who ar sayd, to be so innocent, for blood and murder.) *Poltror* shall haue the first place in the Callender, (for killing the Duke of Guise the kings Lieutenant Generall, in so horrible manner.) who confessed before the Quene Mooother, that *Beza* had Catechised, and encooraged hym, to that heroic all action.

2. Remember also how the protestants, in *Valentia*, vsed Seigneur de la Motte-Gondrin (the kings Liuetennant in Daulphine,) who promised them not to bring in the Gendarmerie to force them: yf they would liue peacablie with the Catholiques. But they assembled ther forces, surprised and hāged hym vp in cold blood, both in contempt of the king, and skorn of his office. (A villanie not tollerable in

anie common welth, speciallie, when such tolleration and conuienc, vvas offred, and with so much fauor.

3. But greater and more inexcusable, was the enterprise of *Simon Maye*: who was induced by the same spirit, and owt of the same schoole, to kill the Quene moother, and Henry the third. But his purpose vvas discovered, and he was taken, and executed. And this fact, can not be excused nor shifted of by anie coolors. For he confessed it, and accused, *Seigneur de la Tour*, and *Monsieur d'Anantigny* (two gentlemen of good parentage, and byrds of one feather,) to haue bean his counsellors, and abbettors. Who both wear apprehended: and yet afterward released by his Maieste. (who was not willing to search too deape, into that wound; either for the men, or the matter.

4. Yet this ded not satisfie them; they seized and took possession of the kings rents, and reuennues: they coyned monie: they surprised the cheaf citties of the realm, *Orleans*, *Troyes*, *Poitiers*, *Tours* &c. and put in garrison, and gouernors, of ther own choosng, and for ther own ends: and deliuered one of the keyes of France, into the custodie, and government of forreiners. all which being doon, with owt the kings commission: prooued plainelie, that they

vsur-

vsurped vpon the crown, the cheafe prerogatiues of sooueraintie.

5. Lastlie and most tirannicallie: Nicolas Froumentéau (a minister of the new edition) confesseth (l. des finances de france:) that in Daulphine onely, the armie of the Huguenots , killed 265. preasts 112. monks and friars , and burnt 900. townes, and villages. And yet, bothe the Caluinists , and others , tell such a pittiesfull tale of the massacre at Vassy , by the Duke of Guise : as yf no creweltie had ever bean comparable to that : which how small a matter, how farr from the liking and consent of the Duke it was; when yow heare it declared by *Monsieur de Chasteauueuf* in his commentaries, yow will say, *Parturimus montes*. It was a toye, and trifle in respect, of these crewelties, or of that at Montbrison, that of Mornas in Daulphine , and manie other places. I will not tyre yow, with stories and discours of the calamities of the church in France: whear those that iustly deserued, and vniustly complayned against persecution; ded persequente ther neighbors, most vn iustly and tyrannicallie. Let the world iudg it by this: In these ciuil warres, 20. thousand churches, wear destroyed by the Protestants: and yet these men wear born (they say) to edifie the church, Is it

not

*Monsieur
Arnold, in.
Reuueille
Matt. in
Francoys.*

not likelie? *Mahomet* could doe no more, but plant his doctrine, and establish his *Alcheran* by his sword as they doe. Now let them that ar most partiall, consider, (for tho I commend no fact of creweltie I may excuse it.) the Admirall being the principal moouer and instrument of all these perpetuall motions: who can iustlie blame king Charles, by a mean extra ordinarie, to cut of such an extra ordinarie member: rather then so pestilent *agangrene*, should corrupt the whole bodie, and endainger the head? he, who now in france, as the pettie king of a new common welth, ruled the peopl (reuolted from ther soouerain:) maintained war against the crowvn, sollicitated and called in the ayd of straingers (vpon false and disauovved pretences:) he vvho leuied contributions, exacted tributs, coynd monie, seized the kings reuennues, inuaded his tovvnes, vvaue all lawes, vvhat title or vvhat punishment doe yovv think his offenc deserueth? for he that vsurpeth the regalities, either seaketh to vwear the Crowvn, or command it. And bycavvs he vvas proclaymed traytor, 1569. I may call his offenc, treason.

But per adventure, yovv may dreame, that this age is a refynor of all former errors and transgressions: and that novv ther is
more

more ciuill and charitable proceeding by the Huguenots. Ther for I will represent breaslle vnto you, the trevv state and condition, of the reformed churches, in France, at this tyme 1621.

I passe over, the infinit trouvbles, labor, and charges, that king Leuues vvas forced to bear and endure, all that sommer and winter: I omitt the garboyles at Toures: and the practise of the Rochellers, to put in 6000. men into Saumur; therby to cut owt sufficient vwork for the armie therabout, and so hinder ther march to Montauban. I will not delate, nor discourse vpon the reuolt and disloyall practises at Gergeau (who stood owt, against the Count S. Paul, governor of the prouince of Orleans: as Sancerre ded, against the Prince of Conde.)

I vwill not exaggerate, the treacheries and conspiracies of Vatteuile, in Normandie (plainelie prooued, by his papers and instructions intercepted:) whearupon the Duke of Longueuille, was constrayned to disarme them of Deape, Roan and Caen, to preuent the dainger, yf they should ioyn vvith Vatteuil. But I vwill beginn vvith S. Iohn d'Angely; vvich held ovvt, and refused submission long, (the king, being there in person:) and though Monsieur de Soubize

Soubize vvas sommoned to render the towne, or stand to the perill and attaint of treason, yet they ded hold owt and defend it, so long as there remained anie hope.

How was his Maiestie defyed and despised, at Montauban wheare he continued at the seage a long tyme, with noble, and most expert soldiers, not with owt the deathe and losse, of manie gallants, and men of good desert and seruice (specially the two brothers, the Duke de Mayn, and Marquis Villars, who wear generallie lamented.) Yet the Consuls wold not yeald, the commons wear obstinate: and so the king by good aduise raised the seage. And after his departure, the *Insolent Burgers*, led (as in a triumphe) all the Cleargie of the towne, with skorn full indignities. And the Huguenots in Montpellier and Languedock, depriued Monsieur Chastillon from all gouernemens, by sentenc of the consistorie, and razed 36. churches.

Now as these reformers vsurp vpon the Royalties of the king: so at thyy as bold with the inheritanc of priuate Lords, when it may serue ther turns. They wold not suffer, the *Vicomte Lestrange*, to enioye his lordship of *Primas*, bycause he was a Catholik: and they put hym owt of his own castel of Lake (whereof the Marshall

Memo-

Memorancie put hym in possession,) and gaue it to Buson (one of ther fraternitie) as belonging to hym: tho it was none of the townes of Assurane, comprised in the list at Brewet 1598. Neither would these good men, permitt the kings Iustices (being delegated thether, to compound the controuersies) either to heare masse, or haue anie vse of ther religion.

What societie, what common welth can stand and continew, yf this Anarchie stand and beare such swaye? Yf by pretenc of religion, they may disseise the right owner: and hold what they can compass, for the vse and assuranc of ther confederates?

But why doe they ryot, and rage thus? what cause haue they, to run such desperate and disobedient courses? the king is graciouslie content, they should quietlie and safelie vse and exercise ther own religion: yet this contents, them not; they will not demean them selfs, quietlie, nor conuerse peaceable with the Catholiks: nor obey the kings lawes, in temporall affayres. yow can neither dowbt, nor be ignorant of this.

For ded not the king assure them, at S. Iohn d'Angely, that he would protect all of the reformed religion, that wold obey hym, and obserue his edicts? ded he not
both

both promise and perform the like to *S^r Malloret*, deputie of the assemblie of base *Guien*? ded he not the like, to the Duke of *Tremouille* (sonn in law, to Monsieur de *Bouillon*), who cam to that seage, tendred his seruice, and protested his obedienc to his maiestie? ded not the king commit the government of that famous *Saumur*, to the Count de *Sault*, grandchild of the Duc *Desdiguieres*: tho he knew hym to be of the reformed religion? Ded he not long before 1619. answer the petitions of the Huguenots, that he meant not by his oath at consecration (which was for repressing hazesies) to cōprehend therein, his subiects of the reformed religion, who would liue vnder his lawes, obedienc, and order?

And how graciouslie the king haith delt vvith *Rochel*, and how vvilling rather to regaine and reduce, then to destroye it: appeared vvell, by his employing of Monsieur *Desdiguieres*, to persvvade them to obedienc and conformitie: vvho accordingly ded sollicit them by letters: and proposed diuers articles, vvich he thought reasonable, but the deputies (*bas*, and *Faus*) refused them. What could a king doe more, then seek to vvinn his subiects vvho not vvith standing, published a long and friuolous declaration, taxing hym for vniust

vniust persecution; by the counsell and en-
ducement of the enemies of the state, and
ther religion.

To disprooue and discouer the vanitie
thereof; I vwill deliuer the causes of the
kings proceedings, against these *mal-con-*
tents: and vvhath reason he had, by armes to
maintain his royal authoritie, which they
vniustlie by armes, sought to vsurpe. Ther
for he was constrained at Nyort, to pro-
clayme Rochel and ther adherents, rebels
against hym, and guiltie of treason.

1. For first it appeared by the Edict of
Nants art. 77. that king Henry the fourth,
discharged the protestants, from hol-
ding anie assemblies, generall or prouin-
cial: and likewise from all vnions and lea-
gues: and from houlding anie counsell,
or by them decreing and establishing anie
acts. Also art. 82. he ordered, that they
should forbear, from all practises and in-
telligenc, with in or withowt the realme.
And art. 32. that they should not hold
anie Synods, prouinciall, withowt a licenc
obtayned by the king. All vvhich they
promised the king to obserue: and let Fran-
ce iudg, whether they hane broken ther
promise or no.

2. Besides they intrude vpon the state,
and both taik and fortifie places of assu-
rance,

rance, vvithovvt the kings warrant, and against the order set down, August 1612. whearas it is euident, it depends vpon the kings fayor and goodnes, to grant and assign the places of suretie, and not for them selfs, to choosse and vsurp them.

3. Add to that, ther presumption and disobedienc, to introduce the reformed churches, of Bearn, and adioyn them to France, by an act of *union* both spirituall and temporal, in the assemblie at Rochel 1617. and they mayd an apologie therof, promising to assist Bearn, in case of oppression. and bownd them selfs by oath, 1. to obserue and execut all that should be determined in that assemblie: 2. and to employe, there liues and goods in maintenanc thereof: 3. and not to reueal the propositions, aduises, and resolution of the assistants to anie person what soever, (not excepting the king.) And all this was doon contemptuousslie, knowing that the king had sent to all the prouinces, and ded expresslie for bed that *union*: and knowing that the king had set downn order in his counsel to the contrarie. Besides how ded they vse *Regnard*, whon the king sent commissioner for the church goods in Bearn? vvhat disorder they committed at Pau, against hym, it is skarse credible.

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4. I will passe over the assemblie they mayd at Loudun, with obstinate disobedience: I will only note and show yew, how they presume to encroach, vpon the kings graces and fauors to them, withowt, order or dispensation. The king permitted them, to assemble at Grenoble: and by ther ovvn authoritie, they assembled at Nismes. The king suffered thē to assemble at Chastelleault, or Saumur, onelie to choose ther two deputies, vwho wear to remain at court, and there to receave and exhibit, all ther complaints and greuances.) But they cōtrarily mayd an act of *union*: and for ther assemblies: and took the same oath, which the leaguers before had mayd: but vvith this differenc, that they protested ther service to the king, so long as he remained Catholik: but the Huguenots, contrarily, (*le souverain empire de Dieu demeurant en son entier.*) So ther service vvas reserved to God; but none to the king vvas expressed. And they showed ther mynds most playnlie vvhen they sent to the camp at Santay, to ioyn with them that ded oppose, the kings marriage. But this vvas not all.

5. They established in each prouince of France a Councel, to heare of the affayres, orders, and government of the contrie:

and importunately urged, to haue counsellors in the parlement, at Paris.

6. I will add yet one act, more odious, and of more presumption, and treason, then all the rest: which was mayd at the assemblie of Rochel, 1621. whear owt of ther own authoritie, they deuided the prouinces of France, into viij. Synodes, which they called circles, and added Beain for the viij. And therein, wear orders sett down for governing the armie: and a general, and officers for each circle, (as yt they meant, to cantonize France.) And they decreed, art. 11. that no treatie, nor truce should be mayd without ther assemblie: art. 35. that the general assemblie in respect of ther great charge, should arrest the kings rents, and moone deuy for tayles, aydes, gabells, &c. and appoint officers for collecting the same. art. 36. that they should seaze, and let to farme, all goods Ecclesiastical and profits of churches, and reuennues of personages. And art. 41. they took the like order for all the profits of the Admiraltie (vvhich articles vwear signed, by the President Combart.) And all this, is pretended to be iustice, and not disobedience: and as fowle as the fault is: it is couered vwith the fayre shadowv, of *Gloria Patri*, and vwith the name of religion. And surelie, it

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vvas vvifellie, fayd of Tullie, *Totius iniustitia nulla Capitalior, quam eorum, qui cum maximè faciunt, id tamen agunt, ut viri boni videantur.*

I vvill not declare the opinion of the Ciuitians, what a sect is, and which ar iustlie called conuenticles, and congregations, against the prince, and the ancient lawes in force: and howv faction and Conspiracie ar defined, (vvhich ar practised and vied for the propagation thereof:) and vvwhether they be within the compass of treason, or no? I refer yow to *Farinacius parte 4.* to Decius l. 7. c. 7. and c. 20. to Bossius, and to Gigas, who can with better authoritie resolue yow. I will onely alledg the municipal lawes of France, which heartofore haue bean the bridle of Iustice, to curbe and break such vvirulie colts.)

And first this decree was mayd by king Lewes II. 1477. All treaties, against the kings person, or his estate, and the realme: wear decreed to be treason.

To the same effect, a law was enacted by Charles the VIII. 1487. By Frances the I. 1532. By Frances the II. at Fountainb eau 1560. And by Henry the II. 1555. all men wear prohibited to bear armes, or to entertain anie particuler intelligences, or to hold anie counsellis, or assemblies for conferenc, but in town howvses, or publik places. By

Henry III. at Bloys 1579. an inhibition vvas mayd, to assemble anie trouppes vnder pretenc of particuler quarrels, or to enter into anie association: and it vvas enacted that to hold intelligenc; or maik leagues offensive; or to haue participation vvithin, or vvithovv France: or to leuie men of vvarr vvithovv the kings licenc, should be iudged and deamed as High treason, and the offendores to be holden as disturbers of the state. All vvwhich lawes are set down in the Code of Henry the III. printed at Paris 1597.

And all lawyers, affirme the same by the common lawes of the land, Frances Rogueau, *des droiſſs royaux*: Bodin *de republica: le grand Conſumier*: and others. And, good reason. For as vvithovv order, ther can be no peace: so vvithovv Iustice, no societie: and Calvinists differ (in that poynt) nothing from Anabaptists, yf they will not subiect them selfs, to the obedienc of lawes, and magistrates: (who as king Iosaſhat sayd 2. Paralipom. 19. *non hominis, ſed Dei exercent iudiciũ.*) And ſurelie, I may bodlie affirme, that Calvinism haith caſt the ſtate of France, into a desperate diſeaſe, and ſuch as requireth an *Æſculapius*: yf neither the maiestie, nor the forces of a king (the eldeſt ſonn of the church:) nor the

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the wisdom of his Counsell and Parliaments: nor the authoritie of the, estates so oft assembled: nor the obedienc deu to Iustice; nor the peace and safetie of the kingdome, can mooue these owt lawes of Rochel and Montauban, and the rest, to yeald vp to the king them selfs and ther armes; and seak for that royall grace and pacification; vvhich all his other dewtiefull subiects of ther own tribe, doe merciefullie enioye.

THE 3. TIT. OF THE REFORMED CHVRCHES IN SCOTLAND.

BVt perauentur, yf this fierie zeale, of *The causes of the troubles in Scotland* these Rabbines of Geneva, wear transferred into Scotland, (a colder Climate:) it would be quicklie cooled, and qualified, and proceed with a better temper. No surelie: for it haith bean tryed by exampl, of an infamous Emperick: who, both inflamed, and corrupted the vvhole bodie of that kingdome, with his irregular zeal and such aboundanc of ill humors; as therby grew a pleurisie of trowbles in that state, which could not be cured withowt effusion of much blood.

Primo the
doctrins.

The authors and actors of the alterations and tumults in Scotland, wear as violent as whirlewynds; vvhich blow down all that stood in ther vwaye, euen the crown it self, and royaltie. *Iohn Knox*, *Goodman*, *Giloy*, and *Buchanan*, vvear the principal instruments, and the *legati a latere*, from maister Caluin.) vvhio vvear brauchie seconded, by mais. *David Ferguson* (a learned shoemaker, and minister of *Dundee*) by *M. (ouerdale*, *Wilex*, *Rus*, *Harriot*, and *Mongommerie*: *Ultrix legio*, and *Novatores strenui*.

All of them *Ministers*, and such salt-peter men, as vvear fitt for fyre vvorke, and to prepare matter for powvder, to blow vp the state of the cleargie of anie nation.

And by these rare men, vvas the Church of Scotland repayed, and reformed: according to the cantling of Geneva, and the Platforme of the Elders.

Knox, fast vnlike to *Nehemias*, both for course, and qualitie: yet he acted his part, how properlie, and piousslie, *Langey* his contrieman can tell yovv, vvhio ded vwrite of his vertues.

For *Buchanan*, he vvas euer a rude and slouenlie swiz, of a presumptuous audacitie, and factious nature. he vvas one of them that in *Ednborough*, in the tyme of king *James* the fifth, oed solemnlie in Lent eat the

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the Paschal lamb: and being consiſted for that *Judaisme*: which the king hym ſelf examined: his partners vvear condemned and burnt for that hæreſie; and he eſcaped and fled over into other contries, (as a man reſerued to be a plague to his owne.)

But yf yow vwould diſcerne and trie ther ſpirits, ther peaceablenes, ther patient, and ther ſanctitie read there *Tocoremes*, and by the maximes of ther doctrine, yovv vvill fynd them extraordinarie Doctōrs, and ſkarſelie matchable.

Knox libro, ad nobilitat. & populum Scot. beginus thus to inſtruct them. Neque promiſſum, neque iuramentum obligare poſeſt populum, ut obediat, & auxilietur tyrannis contra Deum.

And in his *Historie of Scotland*, pag. 372. *Princes may be Depoſed by the people, yf they be tyrants againſt God, and his truſhe: and ther ſubiects ar free from ther Oathes and obedience.*

And that yow may not think, that onelie, *Knox* ded hold this opinion. his fellow Goodman alſo, in his book of obedience, ſings the ſame note owt of *Exod. 17. Toti populo* (ſaith he) *hoc onus incumbit, ut animadvertat in idolatram quemcunque nō excipitur, ſive Rex, ſive Regina, ſive Imperator.* This is his *Homelie*, wherby he warranteth the people to puniſh anie Idolater, be he

king or Quene. And how, and by what order, is that to be doone? This is Gods commandement, to the people; *ut in simili defectione. rectores suos, qui a Deo ipsos abducunt, ad furcas abripiant & suspendant.* Yf the gouernors fall from God, or withdraw the people from the trevv vvorship of God: they may worthilie draw ther kings and rulers to Tiburn, and hang them vp.

Buchanan in his book *de iure regni Scotia*, is not behind them in such graue and wholesome counsels. For he saith. pag. 61. *The people is aboue the king, and of greater authority: they haue right, to bestow the crowne at their pleasur: they may arraign ther princes, and depose them: to them it appertaines to make lawes, and so princes to execute them.* These be the Prouerbs, of that Salomon of Scotland, as prouid with the concept of his own iudgment in these misteries, as with his poetrie and balliets. This was a man wel choien to instruct a prince: but better to infect his auditors.

Yet is ther one aduise of knox, which is to be recorded with admiration. fol 372. *It vvear good, that reuwards vvear publicklie appointed by the peopl for such as kill tyrants. as vuell as for those that kill vvol s.* Now they all account those kings tyrants, who are professors of the Catholick religion: and so

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xians can preuayle.

But yf yow will yet, haue a litle patiene,
yow shal heare a most prophane dialogue of
Buchanans, (whearin he neither showeth
diuinitie, nor humanitie.) *They hold* (saith
he) *kings must be obeyed good or bad. It is blas-*
phemie so to say. But God placeth oft euil kings,
to punish the people: yea, and so doth he oft, pri-
uate men to kill them. But 1. Timoth. we ar
commanded to pray for princes: yea, so we ar
also to pray for theaues. But Paul commands
obedienc to kings: yea, Paul ded vwrite so in the
infancie of the church, but yf he liued nouw, he
would say othervvise. As yf this tyme, ded
affoord a mote ripe and solide iudgment,
then S. Paul could apprehend.

It is most trew, that great high-Soaring
poeticall witts, haue ordinarilie, some taint
and touch of frensie: for other vvise he
vvould never haue vvritten thus madlie,
afteron proteron, setting the Cart before
the horse, the people before the king, con-
fusion to overrule Order, and Anarchie
before a Monarchie. Thus the people is
armed to kill tyrants, by ther doctrine; but
by what lawe? for yf they doe it not by
iustice, and order; it is an act of confusion,
and impietie. Yea, but the zeal of Gods
truth, and the light of the gospel, be the
sword

ſword of Gedeon, and the arms of Iudith; but who muſt draw and direct that ſword? the people, and euen againſt the king himſelf? what is Anarchie, diſloyaltie, and ſedition; y^t this be order, and government?

To proceed. what need I trouble yow further: ſee the book of daingerous poſitions vvh^o giueth this ſentenc of them: *this new diuinitie*, (ſaith he) *is not holden by Knox and Buchanan alone*: but generallie for ought I can perceaue, by moſt of the Cheaf Conſiſtorians beyond the ſeas. That is by Calvin and Beza, and all ther brood: (who haue bean heartofore, abovt 1570. ſo much reuerenced and eſteamed in England: that both the ſchooles, and the pulpits, ded magnifie them, as *Oracles* of the Church: for vvhote releaf and preferuation, publick *collections*, and prayers vwear mayd in the kingdome.

And bycauſe yovv ſhall not err, and coniecture, that theſe books and opinions wear never approoued at Geneva: remember the precedent diſcourſe of the reformed churches in France: and call to mynd that maſter Whitingham, (in his preface to the book of obedienc,) teſtifieth that the ſame was allowed, and commended by the cheafe deuines of that cittie (1. Geneva.) And Calvin himſelf, epiſt. 305. to
Knox.

knox. Doth applawd and encourage hym to proceed. And Bucchanans works, ded passe as current in Scotland, and *cum priuilegio*; till (long after the impression of them) the king ded prohibit them to be printed, or published.

So as yow may see it was not one Goodman, nor one knox; that taught and defended these impious paradoxes, but the whole congregation of Puritans: and not in one contrie, but vniuersallie: and not latelie or newlie, but originallie, and as ther peculiar and proper discipline. Nay, ther holie Geneva bibles prooue it: to be so: whear in ther notes vpon the 2 Chron. c. 15. §. 16. they allow, *the Deposing of Quene Macha, by her sonn king Asa*, for idolatrie: and yet reprehend hym, for want of zeal, that he put her not to Death by tyre. The like axiomes, ar not allowed at Doway: nor the like notes, art fownd in the Reames testament.

But all this, though it be bad enough: yet ther practise and the execution of ther decrees is vvorse. The Bushop of Ross, Lessius in the. 10. book of his storie. *Eo* (inquit) *knoxij prouipit audacia, ut publicè pro concione nobiles perstrinxerit, quod Iesabelem ex medio non sustulerunt*. Yet these weare but words, now blowes follow.

He and thirtie of his compaine begon
ther

ther reformation of religion, by surprising the castl of S. Andrews, (vvithowt warrant or commission:) and murdering the Cardinal Betun, 1546.

The Quene regent summoned hym to appeare, and auiser for these owtrages; he refused it. she proclaymed hym traitor: he contemned it. then she sought to apprehend, and restrain hym: but he sollicitated the burgesles of *S. Johnston*, and *Dundee*, to suppress the frieries, to pull down images, and to overthrow the Abbeis of *Skene*, and *S. Andrews*, vvwhich they effected. And yet they left not so: for they kept the seald two monthes; they took the coyning irons into ther custodie; and (as commanders) ded what they thought fitt for ther purpose, withowt resistance. And this ther furious disorder, ded break the hart of that noble, and religious Quene Regent.

2.
A Parli-
ment 1560.

But stay a litle: I wil relate vnto yow a storie, of the greatest and most disloyall Barbarism, that euer was committed by Christians in anie nation.

In the yeare 1560. (the Quene being in France;) by the instigation of *knox*, they enacted this as, a perpetual and fundamentall law of the state, to abolish the Catholick religion: and they decreed, that who-
soever

soever defended the popes authoritie in Scotland should be banished: and further they repealed all former acts, of the ancient kings mayd to the contrarie.

But by whome, was this law mayd? the words of the act show. *The thre estates under standing, that the invisdiction of the pope, has been contrumelious to God, &c.*

Quo vvaranto, was this parliament, summoned and ratified? for hear is showed no commission, from the Quene, expressing anie authoritie given to them for that end: nor her consent is produced to confirm such an act. So hear is a parliament of the thre estates, withowt a king: and disanulling the precedent acts of all former kings. a thing incredible, in a kingdome: ther sooverain living, and obeyed as king. and to maik that seame good by order of law, which of it self was most disorderlie and defectiue: they procured an other parliament 1567. (Earl Murrie being regēt, and the king skarse owt of his cradle) to confirme the validitie of that parliament 1560. and therein cap. 2. was an oath drawen to be given to all succeading kings, to mantain that religion then receaved: and to establish the confession of that church. and for the defects of this second parliament; I forbear to vrg them, they ar euident.

Had

Had not the Quene then reason, to send the french forces into Scotland: to budge such vsurpers, and so seditious practises of her subiects? But yet a greater mischeaf followes.

3.
The Quene
deprived
of her
gouernment.

By the Instigation of these Caluinists, and by the ambition of some noble men. They deprived the Quene from her government; and dishonored her with the most capitall and criminal accusations, that slander and malice could deuise: and cast her into prison not without dainger of her lyfe. All which was furthered by Beza, (the Tibulla. of Geneva) vvhose Epistola 78. ad Buchanan. prouoked them to it, calling her *Meaea*, and *Athalia*: and *nutum illius celeribus idoneum nomen inuenio*. And how vnmerciesfullie he pleaded against her, (after she was prisoner in England,) for the hate he had beare to the howse of Lorraine: it appeareth by his book of *Reuerle-mam*.

And tho I am apter to burie old quarrels, them to renew ther memorie: yet to Iustifie Innocencie, and to discouer perfectlie the practises of Puritanisme, and to detect the ugling and craftie conveyance of these conspirators: I hold it necessarie, to declare exactlie what inducements were pretended, for so heynous an offence.

They

They alledged, that it was doon for the
zeal to iustice, for the honor of the realme,
for the satisfaction of torrein nations (who
much detested so crijng sinns as Murder,
and adulterie:) and ther for they wear forced,
to keap her in prison, till she could
cleare her self, for procuring the death of
her husband; and purg her self, of that
intention to marrie Bothwel.

Touching the Murder. It was vnlike to
be trew: for her sex was not fitt for such
a butcherie: and a royal nature, could not
harbour such a dishonorable treacherie,
(though she had iust cause of offēc against
hym.) And yf she would haue vsed means
to put hym to deathe: he was her subiect;
and she might haue doone it, openlie and
legallie, by course of iustice. Bycause he
vvas of the Confederacie, to kill David
her secretarie (in whose bodie his dagger
was fownd.) And further the *E. Murion*,
being fled into England for that offenc;
withowt the Quenes knowledg, and al-
lowanc, her sayd husband reuoked hym.
But they obiekt, that Dowgleish (*E. Bot-
wels man*) was executed for it. trew. But
what then? It was he that brought a box of
letters of the Quenes to Bothwell, which
he receaued (to carrie to his maister) of *St
James Balfour* at Edinborow: and by the
inter-

4.
For the
murder of
her hus-
band.

1.

2.

3.

intercepting of these, all ther packing was reuealed. Lyes haue ever one leg short, to maik them halt.

1. First was it like, that either the Quene or the Earl wold repose such confidenc in S^r James, and so great secrets? knowing hym to be at the deuotion of the contrarie faction?

2. Or was it like, that she would send them at all, hauing giuen commandement in the letters, to burn them: which she might haue doone at home, withowt sending them to hym?

3. Besides the Quene denied the letters to be hers, (tho her hand was counterfeited) as som tymes before it had bean.

4. Further more ther was neither superscription, endorsement, seal, nor date of them: so as they wear liker to be copies, or protracts, or fictions of her enemies.

5. Add also, that he (vho deliuered them, could never be fovvnd ovvt, to discover the pack: and Dovvgleish vwho was accused to carrie them) protested at his deathe; that he never knevv of anie such letters: and ther for to stopp his mouth, he vvas executed by the Lords of that faction, ovvt of the vvaye.

6. Lastlie, yf the Quene had sent them, yet vvas ther contained in these fictions,

no expresse prooffe of anie vnlawfull act,
or attempt, or practise, to charge her
with: And yf ther had bean pregnant
proofs, that she had endeauored to haue
her husband murdered; and to marrie
Bothwel, (which is the worst of the case.)
doe yovv taik that to be a sufficient and
lawfull cavvse for subiects to taik armes
against her, and depose her? Holie king
Dauid was in the like case, and yet for his
trespasses against Vrias, and Bersaba, he ded
not forfeit his crown, nor endure so hard
a censure, as Quene Marie ded. S. Iohn
Baptist reprooued Herod for his adulterie:
but ded neither counsell nor exhort the
peopl to deprive hym, tho he was an Idu-
mean, and an vsurper. neither was Edward
the IV. threatned deposing, for keaping an
other mans wyfe: nor Henrie the eight,
for cutting of the heads of so manie his
own wiues, and committing as great sinna
spoliante populo: for *mihi vindicta*, is Gods
prerogative; subiects ar not competent
iudges of ther soouerains.

And surelie these *bonte-foux*, while they
presume to punish ther kings for sinn: pre-
cipitate them selfs, into hzresie, (euen that
which Wiclef, and Muncer haue bean, by
general counsellis condemned for.) Such is
the furie of vndiscreat zeale, like a sword in

a madd-mans hand. But to return to the matter, what probabilities, what vehement p̄sumptions, ded they produce against her? 1. she mourned fayntlie for his death, (which was a sign she was wearie of his lyfe.) and 2. again, she acquitted Bothwel for his death, and ded not punish hym. What a Nugipoliloquides, was Buchanan? must princes be deposed vpon probabilities? or wear these signes, anie evidenc material? for her mourning, and the funerals; the bodie was embalmed: he had the honor to be enterred, besides king Iames her father: the Lord Traquar, Iustice Clark, and others attended the corps to the graue: most of the Counsel being protestants, would not admitt the Catholique ceremonies: neither is it the custome in Scotland, to referu the cōps 40. dayes: and lastlie, it was not decent for her to be there and mourn personallie, as a subiect, but as a soouerein and yet his wyfe: and that she performd so long, till both her counsell and phisicians diswaded her, (as Syr Henrie kulligrew might witnes, who was sent from England, to condole, and comfort her.) What could be required more of a wyfe?

*Tauching
E Both-
well.*

Now touching Earl Bothwel; the Iuggling of Murrie and his faction, is worthie

to be reuealed; was not Bothwel acquitted for this cryme by his peares? euen by Murton, (who best knew it) by the lord Lindfie, the lord Semplie, and ther adhzrents, who procured his purgation. Ded not also the same parties, procure some of the nobles to ioyn with them, and sollicite the Quene to marrie Bothwel, and taik a husband to defend her, (to which in a manner, they forced her?) and ded not they also by ther handwriting, bynd them selfs to obey hym, yf he wold marrie her? and ded they not futhermore (of ther own motion) procure the diuorce of Bothwel, for that purpose onelie, from his wyfe the Earl of Huntlies sister? these, at all vndowbredlie trew, and a sufficient proof of ther double dealing.

And touching the Murder, the Lord Harris, accused Murrey of it: and the reason was, by cause at Cragmillar castel, he, Murton, and Bothwel, consulted, conspired, and determined the kings death: and ther wear indenturs mayd, and subscribed for the effecting of it. And that yow may not stagger and dowbt of this. I'ouerrie, Paris, and Hay, wear all executed for the murder; and at ther death, they ded call God to vvitnes, that these tvyo (Murrey and Murton) wear the principall contriuers

of that assassinate. And Iohn Hepburn, Bothwels seruante, ded the like at his execution, for the same fact, protesting that he had seene ther articles and writings.

And yet is it mayd more manifest by this, and ther cryme and practise more odious: for to blind the world, first they took armes, as they sayd, to apprehend Bothwel; and after they sent owt shippes to pursue hym at sea. Both, wear fallacians: for they never meant it. for yf they wold haue apprehended hym: vvhv ded they dismiss hym? and why ded they send the Lord Graing, to aduise and will Botwell to depart, and promised that none should follow, and pursue hym? and so in dead no man was haistie to doe it, (tho he stayed two months till Murries return:) for they knew, that by taking hym, they should be bewrayed them selfs; and therfor they meant to betray and ouerreach hym; and offer hym vp, as a sacrifice to the mallice of the world, for ther own purgation.

So then these two Catelines cawed the king to be slaine, and vsed Bothwels assistance and help in it: and then accused Bothwel, and the Quene, as the conspirers and contriuers of it. (tho till her imprisonment, she ded never know, who wear the accessaries, or who wear the Principals.)

cipals.) Now to diue to the bottome and deapth of the cawse.

The E. Murrie never loued trewlie the Lord Darlie: he was once in armes and in the feald to haue kild hym; and therupon fled into England (wherby appeared his good disposition.) Also he perswaded the Lord Darlie, to haue a hand, in killing Dauié the Quenes secretarie: at which tyme, they set a pistol to the Quenes bellie, being then great with child, to terrifie her (whearby she might haue bean in dainger to miscarrie.) After ward the lord Darlie, then king) seing his own dainger, craued, and obtained the Quenes gracious pardon: and yet fearing least Murrey might misinform the Q. against hym, resolved to kil Murrey, and discovered his intention to the Q. about it, who would not suffer nor endure to hear it.

This comming to Murries knowledg; as he had before practised to estraing the Queene from her husband; and offerd to procure and sew owt her diuorce from hym (which she vterlie condemned:) so now he resolved to haue hym mayd avvaye, (and yet conninglie before the murder) he went from the court, and after into France, that he might be thought innocent, in the matter.

And trowlie all thesthings appeared, plain-
lie to the Quenes commissioners, who hard
the cavyle at yorke: as it seamed by the no-
tes of Syr Raphe Sadlers. (touching that
busienes: vvhich I haue seane:) but it vvas
mayd after vvard as cleare as the sonn, by
the execution of the E. of Murton.

Novv vpon these false and treacherous
fouvnations, they grownded ther disloyal
conspiracie and sedition, at Carbarie hill;
ther slanderous libells: ther imprisoning
her at Lough leuin: and the act of parlie-
ment for her deposition, as appeareth by
the vvords of the statute 1567. (by cause yf
she liued still Quene, she might taik reueng
of her vvronges:) and lastlie the resignation
of her crowvn, (vvhich they stovvthe affir-
med at yorke, to haue bean voluntarie, and
of her ovvn seaking.) But vvwhether it vvas
voluntarie resigned, and by her ovvn
election: ther course of proceeding vvill
maik it manifest. For first (when they had
conspired, that she should be forced to re-
sign, or to loose her lyfe) they drevv a for-
me of resignation, fitt for ther purpose.
Then Athol, Liddington, and the rest, sent
Sr Robert Meluin, to signifie her dainger:
and to perswade her to yeald, to ther mo-
tions for the resignation. and subtile,
they alledged (as owt of ther dewtie, and
wel-

welwishing) that it could not preiudice her, being extorted.

Alto Syr Nicholas Throgmorton, arrived at the same tyme in Scotland, (but vpon other pretences :) and vvas a fitt man to further the contriuing of that busienes, (and what wynd soever ded blowv hym thither: he ded his work, like a conning artificer, and deserued well to haue bean created lord Hurlie.)

After thes preparations, cam the lord. Lindsey with commission from the counsell, (whose hand had bean washed before in Dauids blood:) and vvith stearn and grim looks, tendered the writings vnto her: vvith fearfull threatning, yf she ded refuse them. and therupon she subscribed them, being a prisoner; and to saue her lyfe, lost her crown.

Call yovv this a free resignation? The act of parliement in dead calleth it so (1567) and she gaue power to the l. Lindsey and Ruthen, (as her dearest frends, and so in dead they vvear) in her name to renounce the government, and to appoint, Murrey the Regent, (which he had long, and earnestlie gaped for.) and in Cap. 12. they decreed she should remain prisoner till her tryall; and Cap. 19. her enditement vvas dravven most scandalouslie. The cayvses

alleged for her resignation vvear these. First she vvas vvearied : then, she was notable in bodie and spirit to endure the paynes : and that she might in her lytle tyme, see her sonne settled in the gouernmēt, (then vvhich, nothing could be more ioyous to her.) and it is trew, I think she vvas vvearie of such tyrannous disloyaltie : but in the floovre of her age, ther vvas no likelihood either of her disability to gouern; or of her weaknes, and such infirmities, as that she could not endure the paynes. but for her sonne, in his cradle; that vvas the way to be ridd of them both. But *Domini est salus, euellit de laqueo pedes suorum.*

And to conclude, after the Quene strangelie escaped, at Hammilton (the hous of a noble familie, and vvell affected:) she reuoked all, and protested, and confessed, the force and violenc offred to her: so as ther was neither formall, nor orderlie proceeding in procuring it. besides the noble earls of Huntlie, and Arguyle: the lo. Harris, and others never consented to it. and in that parliament, ther was not about 4. Earls, 6. lords, one Bushop, and 3. Abbots.

Could not religion be planted in Scotland, withowt such treasonabl shifts? ded yow euer read of such impostors, or men of

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so large conscience, to make show of reforming religion, and to abuse the world with the name of pietie? The Apostles obeyed *Nero*, (a tyrant and a monster;) and suffered death, rather then they would geue example of disobedience. The ancient fathers, obeyed *Diocletian*, and *Julian* (tho an apostata.) Elias reproofed Achab; but ded not sollicite the people to commotion. D. Bilson, alledgeth manie reasons, to disprove such conspiracies, (as directlie contrarie to gods words, vpon anie surmises what so euer, all which yow shall see hear after.) and surely not without sound reason.

For warr mayd by a subiect against his king, is vniust though the cause be iust; and why? the iustnes of the cause can not geue lawfull power. A iust cause; a good intention: power and iurisdiction, must concur, to make such publick actions warrantable. so yf a king hym self take armes, for an vniust cause: though his intention be good, the vvarre is bad. Yet ar not subiects warranted properlie to take vpon them, the cognisance and iudgment thereof: they must leaue that to the high tribunal of heauen, and to the kings conscience. But these commotions in Scotland, wear popular tumults, and conspiracies against ther soouerain: and had no good cause, nor good intention:

tation: and no authoritie at all. Now because I am vrged to discouer the trew and principal motiues, that induced these men, to cast them selfs into such a Goult: as they must either need, perish: or runn the whole state vpon a rock, and wrack it. I will tell yow, owt of *Aesopes fables*, a tale, to divert, and refresh yow.

In Affrica ther wear two great forests, near adioyning. in the one a Lyon gouerned the beasts, in the other a Lyones. The Lyon (being rich, and full of praye and booties;) feared least the Lyones should seek a forrein mate, and growe of greater strength, and inuade his forest: and therfor called a councel of his beasts, to aduise, how he might rest quiet and assured. The bull (presuming of his strength, and vsed to gore, all the forren vvolfes that cam in his vvalk) together vvith the bore, and the beare, contemned these vayne feares. An old Ape, that liued in the forest, and vvas vsed to counterfeit, perswaded the Lyon to fayne kyndnes, *For great harts, vvear soonest vvonnn vvith fayr semblance.* Reignard (the fox) disliked not that: but knowing that the Lyones, had manie hongrie and raue-nous wofs, and wilie foxes about her: aduised the Lyon, to send the goat, (a graue bearded personage,) to visit the Lyones, and

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renew friendship: and vnder that color, to Deale both with somme of the wolfs and foxes: and bread in them a ieaiousie of the lyones, and fear of her creweltie: and therfor to perswade them, to stand vpon their gard, and maik them selfs a free state, and so liue at libertie and vnder no command.

The Goat performed the seruice wisely. Now among the beasts vnder the lyones, ther vvas a Mongrel in greatest fauor: he hearing the motion consulted with his brethren, and vndertook the busienes; but sayd he, vve haue among vs crevvel beasts, what yf they shall dislike this, and seek to deuovv vs? fear not that, sayd the Goat, vve vvill send yovv mastifs to gard and defend yovv. Yea, but sayd the Mongrel, vvhat shall vve be the better, or the fuller fedd by this: oh sayd the Goat, all the pray is his, vvho is maister of the feald: get yovv the Lambe, and leaue them by th' eares for the purtenance. Thearupon, the Mongrel, vvith the vvols and foxes that vvear his frends: conspired, entraped the Lyones: and drevv her to fall into a deape pitt, ovvt of vvich she neuer recovered.

Raignard hearing of this, sent vnto the Mongrell, to gett also into his custodie, the Lyones vvhelp: and so he should be sure, presentlie to rule and haue all; for I haue
fo-

fownd, said he, by experienc, *that a present morsell is euer sweatest: and possession is the cheaf poynt in law.* And aftervvard either the whelp may die; or it shall liue at your pleasure and dispose. This is the fable: the moral I leaue, til I can haue tyme to expovvnd it and moother Hubbards, tale together. For Heare I vvould gladlie end, this description of the Puritan church of Scotlād, the beginning, and the progress thereof: but that I perceaue, yovv desyre to knowv also the trevv cause of this fierie distemper, and the incredible contempt of all authoritie, (which is an accident inseparable to them;) vvhen it springeth, and vvhy it is more peculiar and proper to a Calvinist: then to anie other sect. I vvill show yow breafly my conceipt. Calvin, vvhen he was (after his expulsion) inuited home againe from Strasburg, vvheare he liued with Bucer, and sucked long of his milk: by the perswasion of his frends, he was content to return to Geneva; vpon condition that he might establish his new discipline, (the Idea wheareof he had apprehended in Germanie.)

So by general consent, he returned: and shortlie after erected his consistorie: which is the Quintessenc of Puritanism, the Oligarchie of Elders, and the Inquisition of Geneva. A strayne of pollicie, farr
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aboute Luthers grosse reach. For so he ded
foresee, he might become the Dictator of
the church at home, and abroad: at Geneva
speciallie, to censure all offenders, bridle
all oppositions, and perpetuallie invest the
eldors (by that authoritie) in the sooue-
rantie and gouernment, bot he of the town
and church (which of an Episcopal Hierar-
chie, they mayd now a perfect oligarchie.)
And that it might be receaued abroad with
more reuerenc, and be obeyed more reli-
giousslie, and be plausiblie entertained in
the world (tho it wear the Idol of his own
phantasie.) They set it down as a mark
of the trew church of Christ, and ioyned
it, in æqual rank: with the preaching of
the word, and administration of the sacra-
ments; necessarilie, fundamentallie, and
inseparablie.

So then this great Soldan of the Lake,
sending his Mammalucks, into euerie pro-
vince of France, planted the first reformed
churches there, after this modele of Ge-
neua. Therby the synodes, and assemblies
of France, impatronized them selfs vpon
the principal townes in the kindome: ne-
gotiated with the nobilitie and commons;
and had mutual intelligenc together. And
making ever (politicklie) the people par-
takers of ther eldership, and share autho-
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ritie and command vvith them: they weare sure allwaies of perpetuall and strong support, and by all probabilitie they hoped, at last to pul down the huge pillers, of the Catholick Church, and to convert all into Calvinism, and set vpp ther throne, ther consistories, and Sanhedrin. This vvas that Medium, vvhearby in France, in Scotland, in the Palatinate, the puritans mayd them selfs supreme heads, iudges, directors, and commandors of all: and vvhearby princes, and nobles ar mayd ther vwards. Hearupon proceeded such violent courses, such intollerable irregularities: such indiscreet zeale, as I haue allreadie declared. Ded they not at Rochel refuse to speak vvith Monsieur de Biron the kings Embassador (directed vnto them? ded they not so tyre Monsieur Lanoue vvith ther inciuilitie, that he vvas content to forsake them? And in the articles of Bearn, artic. 25. *All cheafs, and generalls, ar enioyned to obseru ther Ecclesiasticall disciplin, ordamed by ther Synodes.*

And see vvhat course they took latelie in the assemblee at Loudun: remember hovv they of Rochel deuided France, into Circles and prouinces, appointing generals, creating officers, making counsellors, (as yf they had bean the 12. peares of France:) and shooting ovvt the bolts of ther
excom-

excommunications, euen against ther greatest frends, (yf they offend them:) vvhether by Monsieur Chastillon, had cauuse to discern both ther insolencie, and ther indiscreation, of late, vied against hym.

Such is the violenc and furie of Calvinism: vvhich, some call the discipline of Gracchus: some, call, the pollicie of the church; some more properlie, the school of faction: but zeale and religion, no man calleth it, but them selfs. And heare it comes sielie to my mynd, that in the conference at Hampton court; a Bushop recited to his maiestie, maister Butlers definition of a Puritan, *scil. a Puritan is a Protestant, out of his vviits.*) which, vvas not so merielie; as trewlie and substantiallie spoken.) for yf yovv vould dravv his pettigrée, and declare his originall, and of vvhac familie he discended, he is (*a Protestant:*) ther is his generation. Yf, bycause he comes of a yonger and later howse, yow will assign hym his differenc, and distinguish hym from the rest of his sect: (owt of his witts) is his coonifanc, and badg. Now, why this differenc is assigned as proper to a Puritan, I will show yow the reason.

We fynd by experienc, that ceremonies and solemnitie, haue ever in the church stirred vp and bred a reuerenc and devotion,

tion, in the hartes of the vnlearned: and doe eleuate the fowles of the godlie, from mudd and earth, in the tyme of prayer. And so also that order, and grauitie of Bushops and Prelates wear euer wont to fynd respect and estimation, vvith the people. Nowv ask a Puritan, his opinion of, Surples, corner-cap, and the habit of a minister (which distinguish them from the laytie:) he calls them the raggs of Antichrist, the badges of superstition.

For the Communion book; he calls it, the Portes and breuiarie of Satan: and that such sette prayers, extinguish trew zeale. The Ecclesiasticall courts, he calleth the Synagogue of the Deuel, and the excrements of a corrupted discipline. And what opinion of Bushops, haith he? surelie, the same that Luther had. for william Ames, saith, *Hunc Episcoporum ordinem, è medio tollendum, vel denuo Papam reuocandum ab orbe.* And the like opinion the English at Amstardam hold, in their book called *confessio fidei anno 1607.*

Read the censure they geue of the Clergie and ministers of England; whome they disgrace to be a multitud, of forlorn Atheists, soldiers of Antichrist, and a bastardlie, ministerie, pag. 16. 11. and 14. and the like is auouched in the book of daingerous

posi-

positions, c. 12. From this fountain sprong,
the libels of Vdal, Penrie, Martin Iunior,
anie work for cooper, supplication to the
President of wales, and manie moe: offen-
sive to the Quene, and trowblesome to the
state. The spring head of all this was Cal-
uin; who Epist. 305. acknowledged *magis*
sibi placere, reformationem Scotticam quam
Anglicanam. and why? Epist. 126. *ad Cran-*
merum. *Corruptelis Papatus, audio relictam*
esse congeriem, qua non obscurat modo sed prope
modum obruat purum & genuinum Dei cultum.
Therupon in Quene Maries tyme, the En-
glish church at Geneva was Antagonist to
the English church at Frankfort (by whose
meanes and endeauors, the authoritie of
Bushops, was then defended) which they
knew to be the onelie vway to suppress,
Puritanism. so yow see the Puritans ar men
that stand vpon ther pantaples; and poynts
of honor, for ther disciplin: and will not
learn of ther prelats, nor be subiect to ther
canons and iniunctions: vvhearby a man
may coniecture they ar not verrie well in
ther witts. But what meant maister Butler,
and what solid reason had he for his defi-
nition? Surelie he had hard of the garboyl-
es of France: of ther horrible desseins in
Bohemia: and of ther hurlie Burlies in
Scotland: he had reade Basilicon Doron,

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(writ-

(written by a pen, sensibl of ther diseafe and disorder:) he had read the book of Philip Nicholaus, *de regno Christi*, superintendent and cheat of the Lutherans at Wirtenberg, full of fearfull predictions of the powr, attempts, and plats, to aduanc the raigne of the consistorians.

He had bean aduertised of the sentenc of Iohn Schuts, (a learned Lutheran, who described them to be men, that in *brachis seculari confidunt*, & *plerumque sunt homines seductiosi, causamque suam armata manu tueri volunt. Libro 50. causarum.* He had hard, the kings opinion of them, in *monitoria prefatione ad Imperatorem*, thus. *Ego a pueris, non solum a nativitate, continuo vexatus fui, verum etiam in ipso matris utero, propemodum exinfectus, antequam in lucem eductus sum* And doe yow think he ded not vnderstand, how the ministers, wear in feald at Starling, vnder the conduct of some of the nobilitie: and forced the king most presumptuouslie, to yeald his person to them; and how they puta new gard vnto hym, and remooued the old And that the ministers Maister Patrick Galloway, Pollard, Carmichel, Andrew Melvin, vwear the trumpetters that soundd the Alarum: And fled into England afterward for it. yes verelie, he was not ignorant thereof: nor how James

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Gibson, called the king Hieroboam, and persequutor, and threatned his extirpation: nor how scandalouslie Lawfon opposed and affronted the king: nor, how Pont and Baquanquel, by open proclamation, and in the presenc of a publick notarie, wear so hardie as to censure hym, and to withdraw the harts and loue of the people from hym.

Yet this is not all, that may be auerred to disanul these seditions and popular consistories: they ar condemned by ther half brethren (the Swinglians,) which is a thing much to be noted. Hear the voyce of Gualtherus, minister of Zurich, Tigurinus, how bitter a sentenc he pronounceth against them, in *comment. in 1. Corinth. cap. 5.* saith he, *Galli habent sua seniorum consistoria, penes quos, est omnis potestas, & iurisdictio Ecclesiastica: & in quibus omnium beliorum contra regem, & consilia acta, & subsidia collecta sunt.* The french ministers haue ther consistories of Eldors in vvhome resteth the *supremacie* in all cawses Ecclesiasticall: and by these both all counsells and resolutions ar taken, and all impositions appoynted, to maintain the vvars *against the king.* And vvhat estimation, Musculus holds them vvorthie of; appeareth *locis commun. cap. 10. tit. de officijs ministrorum.* So yovv see, neither of them

bowe ther knees, to this Baal, nor magnifie Caluins Idol.

But yf yow would look thorough (with a pearcing eye, the absurdities of the *Disciplinarians*; read *Schulting his Hierarchica Anacristi*, lib. 15. cap. 19. 20. and 22. Whearby yow may perceauē how all kings ar mayd subiect to ther excommunications, (the trewlie *Brutum fulmen*) of these Eldors, and what confusion it breadeth in the ciuil state, (which learned Hooker, wiselie noted :) and how both nobilitie and commons must assemble at the summons of the pastor (as the head of the parish, the President of the Counsell:) and the 1, vvhat conclusions they determin and decree, arr rules, and of sufficient authoritie, to bynd the Parish to obedienc.

So euerie parson, is a demi-Pope in his parish: the elders ar *suprem magistrates*: and Caluin, really Papa and cheaf pastor: though ovvt of his humble pryde, he vvill not vouchsafe to be, nor be called Doctor.

Besides, maister Butler, knevv: that vvheare Philautia and Phantasia arr conioyned, and raigh as matches predominant, in the brayne and bodie: ther must needs be a hart swelled and blovvv vp vvith singularitie, and vvith a conceipt, that they onelic knovv the truthe, and the trevv

worship of God ; and that onelie they stand in grace, as men predestinated to glorie and blesse.

Vpon this dreame, they contemne all others for ther defects and imperfections: and being transported vvith strong passions, and inflamed vvith the seruor of a proovd spirit (more then of charitie, and sober zeale :) they runn into desperate actions, as furies that regard neither Maiestie, iustice, or gouernment. And in dead ther be some diseases that runn in a blood, and arr almost hereditarie to some of ther familie (as frensie oft doth :) vvich leaueth allvvaies a taynt and a spice, of the staggars in ther vitall spirits, as yf they had bean bitten with a mad dogg.

And therfor maister Butler knowving the *symptomata* of ther disease : might with skill, and iudiciousslie sett it dovvn as an Aphorism, *That a Puritan, vvvas a Protestant out of his vvitts.* And so I leaue hym, till it please God to cure or convert hym, speciallie in Scotland.

TITVLVS QVARTVS,
TOVCHING HOLLAND,
AND THE VNITED
PROVINCES.

*The 4.
Proof of
dissolution
By example
of Holland.*

VWE are now to arrive, by course, at Holland, and Zelland, that horrible Akeldama, and feald of blood; and the theater of tragical and lamentable stories. Whear I will rather declare, then de-late; with what furie the Lutheran faction begonn, and with what violence the Cal-mi-nists proceeded; and with what calamitie they both continued, (for as yow haue hard ther axiomes and positions before at large: so the practises and tyrannie of ther follo-wers, ar hear best, to be discovered.)

And about all the actions of ther con-spiracie, the Vnion of Vtreght, was the most capitall and infamours. A deuise, (ac-cording to the rules of *Iunius Brutus*:) an imitation of Swiz, and the Cantons: and a strong argument, to convince them of re-bellion, (though they ever marched vnder the name, of Religion, and *bellum sacrum*.)

*The forme
of the vni-o
of vtreghts*

This Vnion was mayd by the States 1578. who seing the fortunate proceedings of the Duke of Parma, and the course of the Mal-contents;

contents; entered into a perpetual league, comprised in 20. atticles, for ther mutual support and succor.

First they of Holland, Zelland, Frize, and Gelders, ded ioyn, *Contra omnem vim, qua sub pretextu nominis Regij, aut religionis infirmitur.*

After that, the contriuer and ringleader of all, the Prince of Orenge, and they of Amstarp and Gand, cam with hym into the league, and subscribed it, the 14. Februarij 1579. the which was after ward again confirmed at Haghe, 20. Iulij 1581. and the scope of all this was, to abandon and expell ther leage lord, the King of Spayne; and to depose hym from his own dominion and inhæritanc.

Therfor vpon that, they established an edict, *que le Roy d'Espaigne est descheu, de la Seigneurie du Pays-Bas.* And to maik it more authentickall, they deuised a forme of Abiuration, from the king, and a particuler reuocation and dispensation of ther former promise and oath of obedience, in these words. *I. W. N. Souueraynew, and bynd my self, to the provinces vnited, to be loyal and faithfull to them. and to ayd them againt the King of Spayne, comme vn bon vassal du Pays.*

And when they had taken that oath, they broke all the kings seales; pulled down his

armes; seized and entred vpon his lands; rents, customes, and all other hæridita-ments, and took the same into ther own hands. And as absolute lords, they coyned moonie in ther own names, placed and displaced officers of the state, banished all the kings counsellors, published edicts, possessed the church liuings, suppressed Catholick religion, beleaged Amsterdam, and vsed all the marks and notes of sooueranitie, in ther own names.

Whearupon Raald, a counsellor for Friesland, hearing this new oathe, which was generallie tendered to all men: vpon the horror and greaf thereof, he dyed. soodanelie, (as of an Apoplexie.)

The reasons, they gaue, why the king of Spayne, had forfeited his title and right, wear these: *For 1. suppressing ther religion, 2. for oppressing them with tyrannie, 3. for arrogating ther priuiledges, and for holding them in bondage and seruitude: for such a magistrate, they ar not bownd to obey, they said, but to elect hym as a Tyrant.*

An example and president of daingerous consequenc, and which deaplie concerneth all princes to look wel to. For yf subiects may depose ther prince: and maik them selfs iudges, when he shall forfeit his crown and dignitie (which prerogatiue the Roshellors,

chellors, may challenge as lawfullie, as the
Hollanders:) *qui flat, videat ne cadat*, kings
had need to maik ther seat sure, and sit fast,
for these men maik it, but a slipperie hold.
And in dead ambition and treason, can ne-
uer fynd a fitter cloake for ther wearing,
then that which is mayd of the Holland
fashion, by religion.

Now, that yow may the better iudg of *The gene-
ral quar-
rel.*
the particuler quarrel of the Hollanders:
I will set down the trew grownds for the de-
fence of the general, and why they took ar-
mes at first. The original and principal
cawse, of this long and crevvel vvarr, vvas
the spring of the new sects, in the low con-
tries: and vnder the shadow of religion, all
the factions in the state and all discontente-
ments wear masked, *singulare commodum*,
and *primum odium*. And as the peoples
natural inclination to noueltie, ded set it
much forward; so ther wanted not a con-
currenc of forreiners, who serued (as bel-
lowes to blow the coles, both owt of Fran-
ce and England.)

Charles the fifth, owt of his wise provi-
denc, remembring what a peace of work
Luther had cut owt for hym in Germanie;
and with what dainger, charge and difficul-
tie he overcame it: Intended for the quiet-
nes of this contrie, and for his own honor
and

and interest, to preuent the propagation of the Martinists, and other new sectaries, latelie sprong vp in these contries. And he could deuise no better remedie, then to establish the Inquisition there. (which he ded anno 1550.) Wheareof Marie Quene of Hongrie then regent, to her great honor, procured both a mitigation, and an explanation. But he resigning all the gouernement to his sonne: retyred hym self from the world, (whearin he had bean long tyred,) and in a most memorable manner, consecrated the last act of his lyfe to God and deuotion.

*The inqui-
sition.*

1.

Afterward king Philip likewise finding, how largelie the brainches of Anabaptism, Libertines, the familie of Loue, and others, ded spread abroad, and grow vp with Lutheranisme, in Flanders: and what dainger might ensevv vpon it, to the state, yf no good order wear taken to preuent a further encrease of mischeafe: he followed his fathers counsell, and at large reneved, the commission, instruction, and articles for the sayd Inquisition, anno 1555. vvhich vvas a thing most fearfull and discontenting to the inhabitants of the Netherlands: vvhio alledged that in regard thereof, all straingers vwould depart the contrie, and by consequence all traffick vwould decaye, (vvhich

(which is the goldmyne, and maintenanc of these prouinces.) But in dead, they knew best ther own diseale, and what affliction and scourge they should be subiect to: being for the most part inclined to innouation. and this they apprehended, as the first cawle of ther commotions.

2. Besides an other prudent and politique act, added more fewel to the fyre, and an encrease of discontentment: which was the erection of the new bushopricks.

3. Thirdlie the authoritie and power of the Bushop of Arras, was much disdained: and his Cardinals hat mayd hym more odious, as a man too supereminent in a state so popular: and the greater his obligation was to the Pope for his honor, the more was the mallice of the nobilitie, and the hate of the peopl encreased against hym.

4. Furthermore, the better to cloke and couer ther intentions, with the vayle of *bonum publicum*, they vrged to enioye ther ancient liberties and freedome: and that no strainger might beare office and rule among them, and that the Spahyards might be discharged from all residenc in these lands.

5. Lastlie and speciallie, they desyred toleration, and libertie of conscienc. So as in effect, the names of religion, and the Commonwelth, wear mayd the standard bearers

bearers of all these commotions. Now concerning these greauances: the first is a name of more terror, then in deed it is. Not so fearfull to good men, but a rack to offenders; deuised vpon necessitie against the Moors in Spayne: and continued, vpon experienc, of the vse and benefit of it: and tho I can commend no sign of creueltie, yet can I not condemng this: bycaus, it addeth nothing to the punishment of heresie, (more then the law before inflicted:) but exacted onelie, a more strict and seuear execution, and course of examination, by the inquisitors: it shovveth a more care of the gouernor; when he fyn-deth abuses and dainger in an offender. And also, bycause it was the sole Antidot, whearby onelie Spayne, is and haith bean, so weland so long preserued, from the infection of sects, and the contagion and tumults, which innouation vsuallie ingendreth (whearwith all the kingdomes in Europe, haue bean embroyled.) And the Spanyards them selfs, neuer complayned of it; nor felt it ever as a yoke or burden vpon them (who ar not verrie apt, to beare burdens.) Neither is it, *in se*, a more bloodie lavv, or a more fearfull execution of iustice, then the consistorie of Geneva, and the seuear commissions and proceeding

ding of some other contries, (as shall hear after appeare, by the comparison.) Besides, as it vvas a course, zealouslie at first propounded: the execution was likewise as wiselie afterward suspended. So as the iea- lousie and fear of an act, more then the action, drew all this blood.

And for the second, it was a politick and prudent inuention. a suaffle, to bridle secta- ries; and a sicke, to cut down the vveads growing vp in the church. For setting in each prouinc, graue and learned men, to stand as watchmen and sentinells, to fore- see, *ne quid incommodi respublica & Ecclesia patiantur*: they might better, and more pro- videntlie, with ther authoritie either pre- uent, or cut of the heads of that Hydra, vvvhich ded then spring vp with much ter- ror. Neither was the matter and motion new, for Philip the wise Duke of Burgon- die, had long before desyred, but could neuer effect it: knowving it to be a thing neadfull, bycause at that tyme, almost all the 17. lands (except Arras) wear vnder the diocese of Bushops, who wear straingers, and the subiects of forrein princes, (which was a thing not conuenient for the state.)

And vvhat good this chaing haith wrought, experienc perfectlie and daylie showeth. for now euerie diocese is more care-

carefullie visited: and the Bushops; being of the same nation and language: as they haue a more naturall compassion: so likewise haue they more knowledg and care to instruct ther contriemen, and to vvead out the disorders and abuses grovving vp among them; then anie strainger, would or could haue. And that vvas the cavvse, why it vvas allowed and ratified by the bull of Pivs IV. anno 1559.

Növv touching Monsieur d'Arras: albeyt his vvisedome and experienc in affayres both of the church, and the state, vvas insufficentlie knowne to the king: yet because the Prince of Orenge, and the Counts of Horn, and Egmont, ded ioyntlie write to the king againt hym: his Maestie (tho to the great hinderance of his seruice,) was content to remooue hym, for ther satisfaction and contentment: and vvhen he vvas called avvaye, neither vvas the contrie quieter, nor they ceased from practising.

As for ther liberties and franchises, ded not the king at the Ioyfull entrie, confirm them all? then how, and when ded he after violate them? vvas it for preferring the Spanyards? there wear few of them left in the Netherlands, and few *cum imperio*. Was it, for the offices of state? the king

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distributed all the gouvernements among them selfs, (natiues of that contrie:) so great trust and confidence, he reposed in them. He mayd the Count Egmond Gouvernor of Flanders and Artois: the Prince of Orenge, Gouvernor of Holland, Zelland, Vtreght, and Burgondie: to the Count Arenbergh, he gaue the gouvernement of westfrizeland, and overIsele: to Count Barlaymont, Namur: to Count Mansfeld, Luxemburg, and Chinay: to the Marques of Berghen Lile and Douay. So as the nobilitie, could not iustlie taik offence, nor haue expected more honor and command, then was fauorable, giuen them. And for the further assuranc of his good affection to them, he left his sister, the Dutches of Parma, Gouvernor general: a wœman, of a peacable spirit, and who was like to bear the bridle with a mild and gentle hand, and to be aduised by ther counsellis.

So then, what was the original of these commotions? All was actuallie quiet; the fyre laye couered, and as dead vnder the Ashes: till the tyme that the Baron of Brederode, deliuered in his supplication to the Dutches, vviith demands neither reasonable for them to ask, nor safe for her to grant.

1. In the mean tyme the Martinists increased and grevv strong in the contrie:

first

*The furtherers of
change of
religion.*

first by ther matches with Germās and Lutherans. The Earl of Culenbergh married one: Horn matched vvith the sister of Count Harman: the Prince of Oreng, by his moother was allied to Count Solmes; and his wyfewas sister, to Morrice Duke of Saxonie: and the Graue of Scherenberg married his sister.

2. Then, Count Ludowick, the Princes brother, a soldier, a man of a great spirit, and a Lutheran was a powrfull instrument, both to maik a partie, and to back it.

3. Besides *Flaccius Ilviricus* (whome they sent for from Germanie) and other ministers dispersed in all corners, ded incense the people much. But after the quicksilver of Caluinisme was brought in, the fyre ever after was vnquenchable.

Then ded the flame burst ovvt. The people, as in spight of all lawes, begonn to mutine, broke down the kings arms, and grevv so vvild, as in a rage, they pulled down images, sacked the churches, spoyled the monasteries, and contemned all magistrates, that sought to appease the trouvbles. So as the Duches of Parma, fearing ther furie, and distrusting ther violence: determined to retyre, yf she had not bean disvvaded and stayed by some of the nobles.

3. And

4. And yet had she dailie more and greater cavvse of dislike, and distrust: by the private conuenticles, preachings, and insolencie of the people (openlie now Lutheranising:) and speciallie by the manie secret meatings and assemblies of the nobilitie, vvhearof she complayned much.) For she ded vvell consider, that as the people could vvork no noble effects vvithovvt a head: so the nobles vvanted forces and povvre to compass ther desseins, vvithovvt the assistanc of the people (vvho by ther inducements, appeared novv in ther ovvn likenes, and attempted that alteration, they most desyred.)

Heareof the Prince vvvas the cheafe capten, tho he playd least in sight, and vvould never shovv ovvt-vvardlie to fauor anie chainge of religion: for all that he ded practise, he pretended to doe for the commonvvvelth, and the general good.

He vvvas assisted by the Marques of Barghen, Montignie, and Florenc Montmorancie Count Horn, vvho vvvas novv grown a perfect malcontent, not so much for religion: as for his ovvn perticular respects and occasions; his debt; the reiecting of his suit for the gouernment of Zutphen; and aboue all, the execution of his brother Montigny in Spayn.)

M

By

- By meanes of these noble and populer
 perions, diuers assemblies wear procured
 (as the nurces, that fostered the conspira-
 cies.) First at Breda, whether emong others
 Egmond was inuited, (who had the great-
 est power and swaye with all militarie men
 in that contrie :) and shortlie after, as the
 fruiet and effect of that Assemblie, Brede-
 rode delineted his petition to the Duches
 for the religions Vried. Afterward they had
 meatings, at S. Trudon, at Hoochstrat and
 at Osterweal, whearby that noble Count
 Egmond was vndoon. For at his arrain-
 ment, he was charged with this article ;
1. that he vvas priuie to the conæderation
 and agreement, at these assemblies. And
 furthermore, that fatallie, vpon the same
 daye, that the petition vvas deliuered by
 Brederod to the Duches,) he, Oreng, and
 Horn, cam to the great banquet, at the
 Count Culenberghs hovvse in Buitfels,
 (whear 300. of the confæderates wear.) and
 that they dined all together with them : at
 which tyme, the name of the Geuses was
 first giuen, and mayd knowven. and that
 afterward he sent his secretarie Backersele,
 to offer his ayd, to those of that crew. and
 in dead, he confessed hym self at Barr; that
 he offred his assistanc, to hinder the Duke
 of Alua his comming, and empeach his
 passage:

passage: and that he ded neither dislike, nor dissvade the proceeding of the confederates.

And of the same articles vvas Count Horn endited, adding this further, as a particular charg, to hym, that he threatned to leuie 50. thowfand Men, by violenc to reskew his brother, and reduce hym home.

And vpon the proof of these accusations, they weare both condemned: as by all law, by reason of state, for exampls sake, for the Regents safetie, and the honor of iustice it was necessarie. Albeyt it is certain, that Count Egmond was conninglie circumvented by the Prince, and drawen to his own confusion by plats and pollicie: for which at his death he was repentant, (being a man of a playne, magnanimous, and noble disposition.)

*See 1st Roger Vval-
lams storie.*

What Prince could endure such indignities, and not seek both to preuent the like offences, and to taik reueng of the offenders? was it not high tyme to arme, when the people contemned religion and gouernement; and the nobles, wear ther patterns: when the citties wear in vproare, and the vvhole frame of the Commonwelth vvas shaken? had not the king reason, to send Alua with his forces, aswel to repressse these present conspiracies; as by the sword to

*The cause
of redm-
ing the
Spaniards.*

subdew such rebellious spirits, which could not be reduced by lenitie to obedienc. Yow may see, it vvas high tyme, to encounter Oicng, vvho had almost vndermined the gouernment: as he had discouraged the gouernor.

And touching the companies conducted hither ovvt of Spayn (against vvhich the Prince had taught the contrie to repyne:) was it lawfull for the Prince to bring in the *Reisires*, and for his brother Count Lodovvick, to bring in the frenchmen to invade Heynault: and vvas it not tollerable for the king, to send his armie, to defend his ovvn inheritance? vvas it lavvfull to surprise Mounts by force, and vvas it not more lavvfull to expel them by force? and seing it could not be doon vvithovvt force, surelie yf the Duke of Alua had not bean so neare, to encounter and bear dovven ther mallice, the king by all probabilitie had lost his footing in the Netherlands.

And let no man dreame, that yf the Duke had not comed at all, the fyre had bean more easilie quenched, and the people less prouoked to furie. For these confiderations of so great persons, ded portend the generation of some great monster: and the manner of the birth, and first appearanc of the Geuses, by the encooragement of the
gouer-

gouernors of the state, ded prognosticate a crewel storme, to all men of vnderstanding: neither wear they like men, by anie bitt in a weemans hand, to be bridleed: so as of necessitie, the king was, to send Alua.

And the rather, bycaus he could not but know, that M. Chastillon, the Admiral of Fraunce, ded send to baron Brederode, perswading and incensing hym, not to accord with the Dutches of Parma, (for so they would be deceaued:) and offering hym in case of necessitie, to assist hym, with 4000. gentlemen. And Count Ludowick, after his defeat at Mounts, ded lye at Rochel emong the Caluinists: and the Prince went to France of purpose to prepare for a future inuasion. And the same Admiral shortlie after sollicitied vvith great earnestnes Charles the 9. to diuert all his vvatres into Flanders, and taik vpon hym the protection of that contrie. And Aldegond, in Germanie as carefullie ded sollicite a partie, to combyne with them. so then they laboured vpon all sydes, to offend the king: and yf he seek to defend hym self, must he be taxed for tyrannie and creweltie? surelie that state must needs be owt of order: that presumeth to censure a king, for seeking by his ministers to punish disorders, and reduce all into order.

*John Pat-
tis.*

The Duke of Alua, could be cause of none of these disorders precedent, (the lenitie and mildnes, of the merciefull Regent, mayd them insolent: and yet the verrie name of the Duke before he gaue anie offenc, mayd them seek to forreyners to oppresse hym.

And after his arriuall heare, who can blame hym, yf he mayd vvarr vvith rigour; perceauing the generall impression of mallice, in the peopls harts against hym: speciallie being aduertised, that the protestants had combined in the passion weak to kill hym, at the monasterie of the grean vallie, in the forest of Sauue near Brussels; (whether he vsed to go manie tymes for his deuotion.) It was well knowen, that Monsieur Risor, Carli and Villars vvith 700. horse, and 300. foot, conspired when the Duke, and the nobles, and his followers wear at Masse in the church; to beset the place, and with fyre and deuises, to burn both men, church, and Monasterie, good and bad, friends and enemies: (the which, the two Guidons confessed.) and the like execution, was intended at Brussels against the Spanyards, as Pettit, Mendoza, and Michael of Iselt testifie.

Neither ded they cease ther mallice, and mischeafe when he was recalled: for that noble

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noble and wise Duke of Arschot, aduertised Don Iohn, that Orenge endeauored to seize his person, to dispossesse the king of the sooueraintie: and to establish libertie in the low contries. I ask not who set Ratclif, and Gray on work to kill hym, at Namur, for *latet anguis in herba*. And ded not the Caluinists, as synelie contriue at Antwarp, to haue blowen vp with gunpowder, the famous Duke of Parma: as he was to pass in the high streat, vvith the state of the whole contrie attending hym. So as it appeareth, as coye as they mark it, they are not so free, and cleare: but that protestants may be charged, with treasons assassins, and powder plats: nay more, to be the first inuentors of it, as long ago in Scotland appeared, and the king haith good cause to remember.

Now for the authors and actors of this vnion: the States, and the Prince vveare the Contriuers of it. And touching the Prince, he vvas a man politick, popular, and a greate hovvskeaper: (both vvich qualities stood hym in good stead.) The hovvse of Nassau, in Germanie, vvas ancient, and honorable: but vvas aduanced in this contrie most by marriages; this vvilliam, (by cause his father turned Lutheran) Charles the fifth ovvt of his princelie

The authors of this vnion.

affection, took hym from his father, and commended hym to the care and education of the Quene of Hongarie, his sister. And afterward admitted hym into his own chamber for manie yeares. Then mayd hym generall of his horse: and after raised hym to the honor of his Liuetennant generall. And to maik his obligation the greater to hym, he mayd choyce to send by hym, as a man of most trust, the Imperiall crowne to his brother king Ferdinando: and ded likewise commend hym highlie to king Philip (tho diuers forewarned hym, to taik head, that he ded not noorish a snake in his bosome.)

Add to these fauors, the Emperors furtheranc of his match, with the Count of *Burens* daughter and heyre (whearby he was highlie aduanced:) and speciallie, aboue all other things, he procured *Renatus* of *Challon*, Prince of *Oreng*, to maik this william his heyre, (when the President *Schorus* was wholie against hym.) And forget not the honor, king Philip ded hym, to committ so manie, and so great gouernements, to his charge, and fidelitie. was it possible, that anie thing could corrupt this man, and diuert hym from thank fullnes, and allegiance? Ded they after geue hym cause of alienation and hatred, or he took a cause?

When

When the king was to depart into Spayne. The Prince (after the Death of his first wyfe) aspired to marrie the Daughter of (*Christierna* Duches of Lorrain, (cousen german to the king.) And therfor he laboured to haue her mayd gouernor of these prouinces and so he should in effect by that alliance, swaye the whole gouernment, (for which he had gaped long: and was a competitor for it, with the Count of Egmond.) But the king, preferring the Duches of *Parma*, the Prince lost bothe his hope and his wyfe: and therrupon grew his hatred both to Alua, and Granuellan, by whose meanes he imagined that Parma, was preferred: and the other reiected.

So ambition was the trew internal motiue, of all this rancour: but religion was mayd the owtward cawse, and the mantel to hyde it. Ambition is a passion, that can not rest and sleap, withovv't dreaming of a reueng: and therfor he first married in the howse of Saxonie (the sanctuarie of Lutheranism;) he incited Brederode: he set a pike and quarrel between Egmond and Granuellan (who had stood his best frend before, in manie matters of importance:) he studied and practised to hinder the coming in of Alua, (purposing a certan reueng, for a supposal of that he ded not certanlie

tanlie knowv.) He neuer after shovved hym self vvell affected to the kings affaires nor content vvith anie fauors. attervvard, he inuaded Frize, directed *Lumay* to posses Bril, and what he could in Holland: he gaue order to his brother *Scherenbergh* to maik hym self maister of *Zuthphen*: and placed *Saras* gouernour of *Flushing*, (that the world might see the error of *Alua*, in neglecting so long, a place of that importance.) So as I may vvell saye, he vvas the great vvheale, vvhearupon all the state vvas mooued and turned.

I vwill conclude, that after he sought to be reconciled vvith the king, (by intercession of the Emperor, and the Duke of *Baviera*;) and could not compass it, *modo & forma*, as he desired: he grevv desperate, in all his attempts hauing ill succes; and fovvnd no harbor so safe for hym as Holland, the best nurse to maintaine his decayed estate; a receptracle of all religions; and a fortification strong enough by nature and art, wheare he might safelier write Apologies then fight; encourage faction, and plant a new religiō, (wheareof it seameth he vvas not at first fullie resolved: for tho when he was at court, he vvent to Mass: yet from his childhood he was thought to haue had some seeds of Lutheranisme, (which was euer af-

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ter his being in France, transplanted into Calvinisme, yf to anie certan sect.)

And these, and all his courses, being wel discerned at last, by the states of *Artoys* and *Heynau't* (anno 1579.) when they wear recōciled to the king: with the assent of the most honorable *Duke of Arschot*, (who neuer much affected the Prince,) articulo 5. they ded bynd them selfs, to prosequute warr against Orenge (as a general enemie of peace) and to fynd at ther own charge, eightene thousand men for that purpose. and will anie man imagin: that so noble, so religious, so valiant men, (peares to the Prince for nobilitie, and wisedome,) either could err in ther iudgments of hym they knew so well, and (who had acted his part, so long vpon the stage, in the face of them all:) or would haue mayd such an offer, yf they had esteamed hym a Good patriot: or his cause, and proceeding iust and warrantable?

Now touching the people of Holland, Iacknowledg they ar a people verrie industrious; and skilfull to maik vse of ther labors; and as a learned censor of them well noted, *nec totam libertatem, nec totam seruitutem patiuntur*. Friends to chainge, seldome content with the present state: in prosperitie a litl insolent; most addicted to traffick and ther profite; and icalious of anie, that would

would empeach ther gayn or libertie. And the Prince being well acquainted with ther nature : to bread and feed ther iealousie more, discovered to them, the secret counsell and combination of king Henry the 2. of France, and the Duke of Alba, to suppress the protestants, and to erect the, 17. Prouinces into a kingdome. (the vvhich he sayd that king discovered vnto hym.) But surelie, *non placet commentum*: (it is not like the Duke of Alua would discover his maisters greatest secrets, to an enemy so lately reconciled.) and his fiction of other fables; maiks it more probable, that to haue bean a fable also. For he gaue owt, that the Emperor and the king affected a monarchie ouer all Europe: which yf it wear but a coniecture, (was deuised by hym self, and not vpon certain intelligenc vnderstood-) and vpon knowledg from them selfs it could not be; for the Emperors overyoyled age, his end, his cours and the harbor of a religious hows he betook hym self, into; conuinc the contrarie. Yet these inventions and forgeries, serued hym to good purpose, bothe to terrifie the Hollanders (that they might still relie vpon hym:) and to procure, the distrust and mallice of forrein nations to the howse of Austria. And vvith such baites, ded he long both

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Now yow haue hard the whole charge, and all the trespasses objected to the king, (both generall, and particuler: now, and *ab Origine*;) and the actors, that followed the businesse, and what exceptions may be taken iustlie, against ther estimation, integritie, and testimonie, (speciallie in ther own cause.) It remaineth therfor now, to examin first, whether the king stood guiltie of these crimes, of Iniustice and Tirannie. For yf he be innocent, then is ther vsurpation vnlawful; and yf he weare guiltie: an other quæstion is, whether his error, geues them title, and his offences free them from subiection.

*The king
of Spayne,
has desired
of peace.
his cause
not tirannicall.*

I will maik it manifest to the world, that the king euer desired peace; and with great care sought to avoyd, the desolation of his people, and contries.

1. And to maik this euident. It may please yow to call to mynd, the course taken, by that excellent, and most loyall Prince the Duke of Arschot, and by the states generall at the Pacification of Gand, 1574. whearin it was thought requisite, to decree an Amnestia, and obliuion of all things past, on both sydes: and to taik order, for discharging the Spanyards, and sending them home. And notwithstanding that in this
paci-

pacification, all things wear referred *ad arbitrium ordinum*: (vsing, nor mentioning anie reseruatiō to the king:) yet Don Iohn ded ratifie it, and procured the kings consent, and confirmation of all, as appeareth by the perpetual edict. And although this pacification vvas agreed vpon, by all the rest of the states general (owt of a zealous affection, to general vnitie:) yet vwould not the Prince of Oreng, nor Holland and Zelland subscribe and accept it. And they disswaded the states general to accept Don Iohn for gouernor, till the Spanyards should be dismissed at a tyme limited: and yet would not they dismisſe the forren forces they had in Holland; but being at libertie them selfs, would tye Don Iohn to perform his promises. but why ded the Prince and Holland, refuse to subscribe? was it for religion? no. for in these articles, Holland and zelland wear as wel provided for, as they could desyre. for therein vvas this article, *ut sola in ijs prouincijs, Romana religio toleretur & exerceatur, excepta Hollandia & Zellandia*, tho these prouinces, never esteemed nor respected, that peace, nor that prouision for ther indemnitie. and for the Princes person and safetie, his own guiltienes, and his precedent offences, wear buried in this Amnestia (the states preuayled

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led more for hym then the Emperor could.) What then caused the difference? mallice and ambition, blinded and transported hym. for all men may see, the king desired peace, and the Prince altogether was inclined to warr (tho thearin he was no excellent Hannibal.

2. And that appeared more plainlie 1575. by the colloquie of Breda, whear the king offered reasonable conditions: and the Emperor sent the Count Swartzenburgh, to induce them to concord and vnitie. And yet would the Prince listen to nothing, and the treatie was fruitles. the cause is vvorthis to be knowen. At that tyme, they of Holland deliberatelie determined to submit them selfs to some other Prince, and offered them selfs secretlie to obey the Queene of England by Aldegond and Douza. The proiect vvhearof, and the reasons I haue seene.

3. Yet ded the king, show, still how great his pacienc, and mercie was: and how farr from the basenes of tyrānie; that knowing all this, and much more: yet would he not proclayme Orenge a traytor, till 1580. when his mallice appeared to be irreconciliable, and his courses desperate: and after they had finished the fabrick of that vnion of Vtreght; abowt fifteen yeares
after

after the beginning of these troubles.

4. The fourth argument, to prooue the kings inclination to peace, and his detestation of tyrannie, takes away all question from men indifferent.

1. The persons.

When the Emperor solicited the treatie of Coolen 1579. and mayd choyce of most honorable persons for that purpose, the two Princes electors, the Bushop of Wirtzburg; the Count Swartzenburgh, and Doctor Lawenman. the king of Spayne was as forward, and sent thither, the Duke *de Terranova*. and the Duke of Arschot (ever readie to aduanc peace, and the common welth) with diuers others, vvear commissioners from the states, with commission signed by the Archduke Matthias. So as the persons, on all sydes, vvear like to deale vvith integritie and iudgment.

2. The motions.

Note also, vpon what motiues, was the Emperor content to employe these cōmissioners. The states by ther letters to the emperor dated 8. Iun. 1578. ded promise, and assure hym, that they wear, ar, and so would continevv constant, *et in Belgio colatur religio Catholica, & regi sua constet authoritas*. And before that, at vvorms in the general diet holden 1577. the agents of the states submitted and referred ther cavvse to the Emperor, as likewise the king of Spayn ded.

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And therfor, both parts, being so conformable, and concurring in *eodem tertio*, a general peace might vvel be expected vvith good probabilitie.

Novv observe hovv this vvvas performed. according to agreement, the Emperors commissioners cam to Coolen in the beginning of April. but *Damianus perturbat omnia*, the states sent not thers till the 4. Maij, and then vvith a commission insufficient, and restrained the tyme of ther treatie to six vveaks, and no longer. So it seamed, the states could not agree a long tyme of ther instructions, to ther agents. and ther for the Imperials took it as an error, that vvhen they them selfs could not in manie months agree of that; they vvould not vvith standing limit ther deputies to so short a tyme, for the handling of a busines so vveightie and intricate, as this vvvas: and vvhearim so manie seuerall men, had seuerall ends. Besides in the articles, which the deputies exhibited, they propounded *extrema, non media*, contrarie to promise. furthermore, by the articles and media of peace, proposed by the Duke de Terranova, all seueritie was lenified and mitigated, for the ease of religion. as the Emperors commissioners ded testifie by these words. *Ut nemo in se conqueri possit, regem pretextu religionis,*

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gionis,

gionis, vel seuire in corpora subditorum, vel bonorum confiscare, vel conscientijs vim inferre. So as the Imperials finding the dallijng and delayes of the states, such, as in 16. weeks, they could get no answer: and that by ther letters they renewed all old greafs and quarrels: they brokevp the treatie, and departed.

Hear upon Bolduc, and Valencen receaued and intertained the articles.ouer Isel, and Turney, refused them not. Artois and Heynault guided with the *bonus genius* of the Church; and Em. Lalain, that valiant and religious Marques of Renty, together vvith Monsieurs de Capre, Heze, Barze and the rest: condemning the course of the Prince of Orenge, offered ther obedienc to the king, and mayd peace with the Duke of Parma. In this *interim*, what ded they of Holland? they wear now further of, the case was altered. They published discourfes against the treatie; they studied how to defend ther vsurpation, and how to perfect the Frame of ther vnion; and how to increate discord and diuision emong the rest. (vvhear there ministers and agents, sayled not to serue ther turn.) But they vveare principallie busied, abovvt a nevv proiect. For by the mediation of the Prince of Orenge, and the counsel and assistanc of England, and for ther better abilitie and more strength,

Strenth, they capitulated vwith Monsieur the Duke of Allençon 1578. whome they created Duke of Brabant, and Prince absolut of the Netherlands.

2. Secondlie, touching the kings tyrannie. first exaction, and impositions: then disanulling ther priuiledges: also the too seuerer gouernmēt, of his ministers, (whereby he broke his oath solemnlie sworn at the ioyeful entrie) wear the cawses of making this vnion. The end vvas, to preferue them selfs, and ther contries from viter ruine and destruction.

*Touching
the kings
oppression
of them.*

Hear is ther Clayme, and the foundation of ther *Union*, and of ther *Dominion*, and sooueraintie. And first touching the exactions and tyrannie, and seueritie of Gouernours, which the deputies of the states ded aggrauate so much at Colen. Surelie, so long after the Duke of Alua his tyme; and vnder the temperate gouernement of the Duke of Parma: and after so oft and manie offers, and signification of the kings gracious disposition to ease ther burdens: it was rather to be iudged as a Canail to shift of peace, then a desire to beridd of warr.

For first touching these greauous exactions, they complaine so of, *videlicet*, of the *Tenth pennie*, imposed by the Duke of Alua.

1. It is necessarie to Draw the Curtens, whearwith they shadowv and obscure the truthe. Necessitie and not his own vvill, forced Alua, to exact that, which neither he would haue Doon, nor the king haue suffred it: but being driuen to extremitie, for satishijng the soldiers (vvho allvvayes grow wild withowt paye:) and so to avoyd a greater mischeafe, he was driuen to incurr an inconuenienc.

Some of the counsell in England, in the Quenes name, seized in Hampshyre 600000. Duckets, (sent from Spayne to paye the Armie, vvithovv anie charg at all to the contrie:) tho she had giue a passeport, for the safeconduct of it, as is reported. Vpon what pretences, or how iustlie, I wil not argue, (hauiug beane before debated at larg, in a treatie.) But these politique men who conselled her, to extend her authoritie, for staying the moonie: as they well knew it was none of hers: so weaf they also sure, it would drue the Duke of Alua into such straits, that he would be compelled to commit error, and increase the hatred of his gouernment, and arme the peopls furie to sedition. (which was the thing they most aymed at.) Besides the king of Spayn hauing sent the Duke de Medina, (a man of a milder nature) to succeed

2.

cead Alua, (who partlie by misfortun, partlie by his stearnnes, partlie by some errors, and by forren princes disfaue, was growen odious) he brought with hym, 200000. Duckets: which the Zeildäers, intercepted vpon the seas; and as his stewards, took it as pure Almes into ther charge, to disburse it withowt accompt. So hauing lost his moonie, and ships: lost also his hart to stave near them; and therfor returned back to Spayne, fullie resolued, neuer to haue further dealing, with such sharking Cormorants of that Nest and crew. And so was Alua further both plunged, and perplexed. But hearby it appeareth, that it was neither the kings pleasure nor purpose, (vwho furnished hym so largelie and liberallie as vvas intended) but the necessitie of his present vvants, vvwhich compelled Alua to that demand, and exaction. And so it vvas rather an occasion of scandal and offense reflected vpon the king, then deserued by either: and a quarrel rather mayd, and contriued, then giuen.

And these popular orators that plead so earnestlie for the ease of the commons: and seem so carefull to procure the exoneration of the impositions, and taxes layd vpon the people: vvhy doe they not novv inueigh asmuch, against these new magni-

fices of Holland: vvho ar so farr from laying down and diminishing these subsidies and excises, that they haue raised and augmented them in such sort: as at this daye, no common vveth in Christendome groneth vnder the like burden.

M. 1584.

And it can not yet be forgotten, that the gentl father of the people, (as they called hym) the Prince of Orenge, ded propovvnd and labor to vvrest and vvring from them of Holland, the Sixth pennie, tovvards his charge and maintenanc, anno 1584. this vvvas a note aboue Ela, a strain farr higher, then the Duke Aluaes; and yet tho the people denied it, and murmured much: yet still vvvas he in Holland *pater patria*, so smoothlie he could manage his busines.

Barnevelt in his Apologie, confessed: that he fovvnd 1586. the order of the gouernment ovvt of all Frame, manie preachers protestants vvould not acknowvledg the states (for after the french fashion, they had no command, nor discipline:) the commons quite opposite: the towns and magistrates wished for peace; the expenses of the state, exceeded all incoms and reuenues by tventie six millions: and that (which I maik this note for) west frizeland in the beginning ded contribute skarfe, *Decies octies centena millia florenorum*; and now

now they are charged, to paye *quadrages centena milia librarum, & duos miliones*. I vse his own words bycause I will not be challenged for mistaking hym. Who is therfor now the tyrant and the exactor? tho the peopl haue chainged ther Lord, they are not eased of ther oppression: and wheare before they complayned they had one, now are they subiect to the command of manie tyrants, who fleace them, nay vnskin them. Alua bett them, with whips; but the states, with scorpions. Examin ther excises, and impositions, how they are increased, vpon meat, drink, fewel, men, servants, wages: besides lones and beneuolences. Henry Cnickingius chargeth them, to exact the fourth part of ther reuennues, that are, Hollanders and liue owt of the contrie: *Si in prouincijs nostris, venia eorum degunt: semissem iubent soluere: si secus bonis exsunt.*

And to answer that inuectiue, against the Duke of Alua his Creweltie (which was so much objected at Coolen, and since haith bean aggravated by D. Baudius, in his orations:) call to mynd what occasions wear giuen hym: by the opposition of the Nassouians: by the warr at Mounts: by the practise to empeach his entranc to Brabant: and by contriuing his death. Yet these wear venial sinnes. But, when he

found the nobilitie, so farr ingaged in the conspiracie with the Geutes; that the kings authoritie was despised, the religion established was prophaned and derided; that the towns in Holland, and Zelland reuolted; Harlem, Alcmarr, and the rest excluding the kings authoritie and power: what stranger and man vnpartiall, would not think; when the blood of the bodie was so corrupted, that it is not fitt both to vse cauterism, and violent purgations to cleanse it. for violenc is never necessarie, but when lenitiues, wil not remedie and worke a cure. And when Alua was reuoked: remember how littl, the peacabl nature of the Comendador preuayled with so rough and harsh natures, who was forced to crie out, *Dios libera nos de estos estados.* And hear I pray yow read the opinion of Syr Roger Williams, a soldier of good note, who had serued an both sydes, and knew the natures of the peopl. in his storie, of these warres, he condemned the reuocation of Alua as an error: by cause nothing but rigor, could reduce these violent spirits into order: neither can anie man maik them obedient, but he that can pull them vpon ther knees; and carrieth the sword drawen, in his hand, allwaies readie vpon such inflammations, to open a vayne, and let them blood: though

though I confesse a gentle hart will much
ever relent vvith compassion, when it seeth
blood shed.

Concerning the breach of the kings *For the*
oath, which they object hauing sworn to *king's oath.*
observe ther priuiledges: yf they will deci-
de the matter by courte of iustice, it must
first be mayd playne, and appeare; that the
king haith broken his promise, and not
performed his oath: and in what case. and
in ther own causes, it is not agreeable to
common reason, that the Playntiffs should
be bothe accusers and iudges.

Again, yf he had broken his promise:
manie things may happen after his oath,
to excuse hym from periurie, or tyrannie.
for by law, euerie absolute pact, and promi-
se doth implice *tacitam conditionem*, to pro-
ceed, *rebus sic stantibus*, as they wear at the
oath taken. But what yf such difficulties
followe, that he can not keap his promise?
What yf that which was then promised for
the good of that prouince? can not be ob-
serued withowt the great damage of that
prouince, and of all Europe? As the cawse,
so the case must be altered.

But proceed further, yf the king had
broken his oath: yet wear not the states in-
abled and authorised therby, to choose a
new prince in his stead; much less, to in-
uest

uest them selfs. for in the articles of the Joy full entrie, this is a clause, *ut si in omnibus, aut in uno quopiam articulo, pacta ista Dux Brabantia violasset: denegare ei, tunc per subditi possunt, consuecta servituti: dum id reuocetur, vel corrigatur, in quo controuersum.* For otherwise, withoute that dam, ill disposed subiects, should continuallie haue the aduantage to pick quarrels against a good Prince.

And the world can witness, how oft the king haith offred to the Emperor, to forrein princes, and to the states generall either to reuoke, or amend, what could be prooued to be amisse.

Besides the states and courts of Brabant, ar more properlie to decide that quæstion, then Holland, (who can clayme those priuiledges, but by participation. Add also, that the states of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Heynault, and the rest haue conformed them selfs, like dewtiefull, vertuous, and noble persons, to obedienc of the king: and to all Lawes, and gouernment. (And yf Holland could learn by ther examples, so to doe, the quæstion vwear then ended.)

Furthermore, the like oath all kings take at ther coronation; and it is the greatest honor to them religiouslie to performe it: but yf they break it, what then? shall he be deposed? that is a doctrine onelie fitt for

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for the schools of Conspiracie. Besides ther is a great difference, between a covenant, and a condition, in the common lawes; and yet neither of them tye a Prince, so as the breach implyeth a forfeiture, (as hear after appeareth.)

But to conclud, who ded first, create and grant these priuiledges: ded not the Prince, *ex gratia speciali*, & *mero mun*, to gratifie good subiects? howv vnthankful subiects then at they, who will seek to deprive ther soouerain Lord; yf he be forced to break a clawie, or an article, or a covenant, vpon vrgent cause? What vould they haue objected, to Philip Duke of Burgondie, and of the Netherlands, vwho resumed into his ovvn hands, and by his ovvn authoritie, all the Priuiledges, and immunities of Gandt? and detayned them all his lyfe tyme; teaching them to acknowvledg, by vvhose grace they held them. And vvhate remedie? vvhhen his sonn Charles, cam to Gand; the people in a rage compelled hym to restore them. But, to ther cost, for they vveare forced to seek his pardon, and to cast them selfs, and ther charters, at his feate, and stand to his mercie.

And the like he ded at Machlen, (which he detetmined to haue razed, and destroyed:) yet he restored them to ther libertie.

id. Bet-
land.

liberties, vpon great suite, and vpon such conditions, as he thought good.

Neither of these great citties, objected to the Dukes, ther breach of oath, at ther entrie: or that they had forfeited ther estates: they wanted the cloke of Holland, and such a conductore as Oreng. Yet it is worthe also, to be considered, why the Prince vrgeth so much the kings keeping of his oath: and yet he maiks no religion to perform his own. For when he was to taik vpon hym, the government of Brabant, he took his oath to maintain the Catholick religion in Brabant. And haith he performed it? when he retyred into Holland, he professed and protested publicklye, he would chainge and alter nothing: nor disposses the Cleargie of ther liuings: and the like he ded at Amsterdam, and bownd hym self with a solemn oath: and yet he performed none of these. So to serue his own turne, he taketh hold of the kings oathe; and for his own oath, religion and *bonum publicum*, geue hym a dispensation vvhich Calvin ded confirme vnto hym. *Libro 4. c. 13. §. 21.* *A man* (saith he) *illuminated vvvith the truth, simul vinculis omnibus obediendi legibus & Ecclesia solutus est: he that once haith perfect knowvledge of the gospel, is absolved from oaths, and all such snares.* Is not this a holie gospel,

Michael
Ba me de
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gospel, and a blessed lesson. But yet, I see no particularitie alledged, whereby it may appear, that the king ded break his oath: was it for exactions? it is answered. was it for bringing in the Spanyards? it was tyme, and necessitie, that mayd the king, to his great trowble, to his greater charge, to his greatest greafe: to talk armes, to defend the Cleargie, to defend the religion of his ancestors (according to the lawes and law-ble customes of these prouinces:) and to force them to acknowledg that he was ther Prince.

Was it for religion? In dead it is trevv, ther is a clawse in the *union*, that they ar thurby to defend them selfs, *contra omnem vim, qua sub pretextu religionis aut nominis Regii inferatur*. At first, the Prince, Horn, and Montigny, offred to Ioyn vvith the people, against the Inquisition: they assisted comforted, and encooraged Brederode: they desyred and vrged the Religions Vried, and published books to defend it: mayd liberal promises to be content with the vse of ther own religion, and not to prejudice nor offend the Catholick.

And with much art, they hid and dissembled ther intentions, the better to draw on the Catholicks to ioyn with them, for the general good of the state. For by that deuise,

deuise, they wonn manie prelates and men well affected in religion, to cooperate with them, for the furtheranc and defence of the Archduke Matthias, with ther bodies and goods; and still vnder the saye names of liberties and religion.

Now that religions Vried being granted it was a *superfede* as to the inquisition, and a prohibition of all violenc, and seditie. and what could they desyre more? besides Holland and Zelland, ever since the pacification of Gand, haue bean offenders more then defendors: and haue enioyed ther Religion, liberties, & *denique quid non?* so as they had no iust cawse, to make this *union* and conspiracie, (speciallie when all other prouinces submitted them selfs to the king.) But faction and hærésie is ever humble, till they can get the svword of powver and authoritie in ther hands. For novv, they of Holland, ar in *Gloria Patri*, and sing an other tune: they haue expelled all the Cleargie, seized ther lands and liuings: emprisonned, those that vvill not be conformable, to ther Synodes holden at Dort 1574. and at Midlbrough. 1582. they haue vfed much crevveltie both in drowning and executing men for religion: but no toleration they vvill permit; nor more fauor, then to the Puritans, Anabaptists,

baptists, an semi-Arians, among them.

And for the matter of Religion, at the making of that union; they mayd themselves cheaf governors of religion and the church, by these words. *Quant au point de religion, ceux d'Hollande & Zelande s'y comporteront, comme bon leur semblera: & les autres, selon le placard de l'archiduc Matthias.*

So then, by this, belike the States of Holland and Zeland are advanced to be head of the church in those provinces: for all must be touching Ecclesiasticall matters, *comme bon leur semblera*. They are now, the *Regula Lesbia*, to square iudge, direct, govern, and order all: and what religion they will allowe, that must pass for currant: and in that manner, and for so long tyme, as they please.

Now this authoritie being in the states generall; then that church must be governed by manie, not by one: one spiritual bodie by manie temporall heads, and most of them artificers, (merchants of Amsterdam, brewers of Delft, Staplers of Dort, teamen of Horn, &c.) An anarchie, without learning: and (which is pittie) a forenoon head, better then an afternoon: too manie for unitie, too ignorant for veritie, and skarsellie able too determin with iudgment, whether the Gomarists or the Arme-

Armenians, should be Doctors of the Chayre. And that appeared well, by ther edict published at Haghe 1614. that no mans should preach, *Deum aliquos in exuium creaſe*; which ſentenc was afterward retracted, bycauſe the heads of the church had erred therein, (for they admitt not the miniſters, as in France, to ſhare with them anie part of ther iuriſdiction.)

Novv to dravv, to an end: yf the king had taken armes to introduce anie nev religion (like a Muſh rump grovven vp in a night) and to compell the conſciences of his ſubiects to obeye that: I muſt needs ſaye, he had much encroached vpon the libertties of the contries, and hac incurred iuſtice ther mallice.

And I can not but ſaye alſo, that the Hollanders, taking armes againſt ther ſooverain, for defence of ſuch a religion, and innouation: can neither, by lavv, reaſon, nor religion, be excuſed and defended. Novv yf the Hollanders be ſo precise in vpholding ther religion: yf the Elders of Geneva vvill permit no toleration: yf the french church inſult and oppreſſ the poore humble Catholicks, that liue emong them: yf Romulus by his law enacted, *Deos perigrinos ne colunto*: yf Numa would not heare of anie noueltie: yf Socrates ded vvifeſie

Lib. 4. de
repub.

aduife,

advise, that the people should referu and refer all mutations and matters of religion, to Apollo: yf nature and all nations concurr in this: had not the king of Spayn reason, to endeavor to prevent, that confusion of opinions, and that multitud of sects, which had so daingerouslie infected the west part of the vworld?

And yf they of Holland, think it necessarie for the peace of ther state: is not the case a like for hym? yf for ther conscienc sake, they vvill barr ovvt the Catholick and ancient religion: should he be hard for his conscienc sake, to taik the same course against the Calvinists? hovv doe ther beginning, and ther proceedings differ? and hovv doe ther profession and performanc agree? for at first they mayd that a cavvse of ther rebellion that the king vvould force ther consciences: and yet they vvill not novv permitt the same freedome, to those that liue vnder their command.

But novv to come-to the Mayne poynt. they Challeng by the vnion, to be absolute Lords of these prouinces: and haue renounced all title, and obedienc to the king of Spayn, as Earl of Holland and Zelland. I ask, *quo titulo ingressi sunt?* they alledg, in ther letters to the Emperor 1608. this grovvndvvork. *Post tractatum pacis*

O

Colonia,

Mercurius
Gallob.
libro 32.

*Colonia, qua Hispani potius ad opprimendam, quam subleuandam Belgium visi sunt: Hispani, tanta tyrannide, in prouincias, urbes, ac ciues omnes Belgij. proculcatis omnibus priuilegijs grassabantur: et ad conseruandam, quod ei imminabat, ab extremo exitio patriam: pleraque Belgica prouincia, qua in vnione persisterant, regem ciurauit: & certam quandam, ac liberam reipublica formam conseruerunt. Ita pro liberis, a multis regibus accepti. per 32. annos. Hear is the fowndation of ther free state: and the reason is tyrannie: and the tyme is layd to be after the treatie of Coolen, (tho in dead this vnion, was mayd before.) Besides in the same place: they vie an other argument: that the king of Spayn and the Archduke, acknowledg them, as free prouinces, in quas ipsi nihil iuris prae-
dant; cum omnibus, generalibus, & particula-
ribus renunciationibus. At the making of that vnion, they alledged, that the king had forfeited his estate, by oppressing them wvith tyrannie, by infringing ther liberties and his oovn oath, and for suppressing religion. And at Coolen, the states deputies added, that they took armes, not onelie for religion but to 1. auoyd exactions intol-
lerable, 2. and to cast of the yoke of too se-
uere gouernours. So then 1. religion, 2. ty-
rannie, 3. exaction, 4. abrogation of ther priui-*

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priviledges, and the kings ovvn renunciation of his title: are the pillars of this vnion. It remaineth therfor, after hauing mayd a breach with this long battrie, to geue the assault vpon ther title: and discover howv seditious the positions and principles of that religion are, vvhich imprinted in them such disloyaltie to vsurp that title.

If it could be prooued by them, (vvhich is necessarie first to be:) that the king ded oppress the contrie by tyrannie, and abrogating ther priuiledges: then is it yet a question of importance, vvhether ther by he haith lost his authoritie ouer his subiects? and yf he had lost it, by what law haue they fovvnd it: by vvhath ciuill order or president, ded they abiure ther obedience? Surelie it vvas, *certainam quandam ac liberam rei publicae formam constituere*. That vvas ther end, and ther presumption: but it vvas neither order nor cause. Neither is the kings tyrannie, a sufficient varrant for ther tyrannie and vsurpation. for a sooueraign can not loose his sooueraignetie: it doth all vvaies carrie vvith it a *nonobstante*, to dispenc vvith errors and irregularities.

And for ther priuiledges, vvhich the king never intended to maik voyd, (and so they build vpon a false grovnd, vvhich yvill fayle them:) yf it had been so great

an offense, for the king to abrogate theirs; is it not a greater offense for subjects, to usurp his? and so to make them selfs parties and iudges, and by ther own authoritie to punish ther prince. Which is an insolencie and indignitie incredible to all posteritie; and such as neither the Svizzes, nor the Amphictiones (the confederate cantons of Grecia:) ded ever match, nor come neare. for so they maik, *regna, occupantium illi, qui potest capere, capiat*. A pretenc opposite to all lawes: a portall to let in confusion. but yf the king ded loose and forfeit all his authoritie and iurisdiction: yet I see not, vvhy or howv, they could also challeng his lands, and private inheritance: for that must needs descend by law. Besides yf the king could for feite his sooueraintie; how can he forfeit it to his subjects? but say they, we ar now no subjects, we haue waued and renouced the same. and is that enough? It is trew; a subject, may maik hym self *civis aliena reipublica*: but yf he stay in his own contrie, he can not of a subject maik hym self no subject; (for tho he doe rebell as the Hollanders ded, yet he is a subject:) but it is admirable, how of a subject he should become a sooueraine: that is *scientia scientiarum*, a supernatural skill aboue my capacite.

Yet

Yet yf the king should for feite his earldome of Holland; it is not to them, but to the cheaf Lord of the fee, that is to the Emperor (for it can escheat to no other, either by the Imperial or municipal lawes.) Yf yow ask me the reason: I saye it is manifest, that Holland vvas erected into an Earldome, by the Emperour Carolus Calvus *qui cum audiuit, Hollandiam terram Imperatoriam, à Danis spoliari, rogatu Iohannis Papa, principatum eius contulit Theodorico.* Ferland. Meyer.
Anno 862.

So yf it be not in the king of Spayn, (to whome it is lineallie discended from Theodorice) then may the Emperor geue a new inuestiture thereof, as a fief Imperial, to whome he pleaseth, as he ded to Theodorice. (for it is a phantastical imagination, that it is fallen by lapse to them of Holland.) the Emperor taketh nō notice of ther State-ships, (being a priuate order for ther better government.) But yf it be fallen in laps, it is rather fallen to Oreng and the nobilitie, (who can Better govern) then to tradesmen, and mariners. And yet vndoubtedly to none of them, except they plead, that as conquerors they wonn yt by the sword, and so they will hold it: which is a Tenure, neither knowen to Littleton, nor *some Rural*, nor *ius feudale*: a tenure

fitter for *forſciuiti*, or the Hoords of Tartarians, then a common welth of Chriſtians.

A certain Hollander, in his third defence, of the vnitied prouinces, calleth the king of Spayn, *Regem, & hereticum notarium*, ruddie and vniuelde; and therupon inferreth, *An non potius regem Hispanie, quā hereticum notarium est, ex suo regno omnibus omnium Evangelicorum viribus, expellere oportet?* either this man was much distempered, or his religion infected hym, and mayd hym a Catelin, and so seditions.

These are fearefull paradoxes, and such as all princes have interest in; and had need to haue ther swords drawn to confute: yf for pretence of religion, for errors in gouernment, for restraining ther priuiledges, for punishing sedition and ryots: subjects may thus sit in iudgment vpon ther princes, and take armes and expell them out of ther territories. Thus ded ket, and Iack Straw in England, rise for *bonum publicum*: the Bowres in Germanie, and Ziska in Bohemia mayd ther insurrections for religion: and so euerie Gracchus, may take vpon hym the reformation of the church and the state.

Now yf they obiekt, ther case is ill fitted with a comparison, by cause manie princes in 32. yeares haue acknowvledged and vsed

ysed them as a free State. Yf they hold onelie by prescription: I may iustlie saye, that tyme will not serue ther turne: except they can therwith plead a title, and *bona fides*: for tyme may cōfirm a title, but creates none. and the opinion of forrein princes, maiks not ther bad clayme better, but geueth onelie, a reputation to the vsurper: and in so bad a quarrel, brauelie defended, not the cawse, but the success: not ther right but ther prosperitie haith doon them honor. Besides it is nor trēw, that they haue bean so reputed of Princes. to negotiate with princes vnder that title, and that so princes confirm ther title, be different things.

I grant that they offred to Quene Elizabeth the sooueraintie of these prouinces, and laboured that she vould entertain them: but the counsel (speciallie the L. Threasorer,) ded not welcome the offer. both in regard of ther title, for *nemo potest plus iuris transferre in alium, quam ipse habet*: they could not geuer her that, which was not ther owne: and in respect of the safetie and honor of the Quene, who could not hold and mantain such a title, withowt the censure of the world; and withowt geuing forrein princes, and her own people a president against her self.

Although for her own private ends, afterward she was content to protect them: and he who furthered most that protection was as glad so cleemlie to be rid of the sonne: as the Marques of Winchester was, to be deliuered of the father.

And therfor, the Quenes commissioners at Burborough, (as I haue hard) affirmed trewlie, *Auerſara eſt Regiſtrelarum ſibi ſupius illarum regionum ſummam poſteſtatem.* Neither was Syr Noel Caron, in Quene Elizabeths tyme, eſteamed as an Embaſſador, but as an agent.

By law.

But to ioyne iſſew with them yf they can maik good ther hold and Clayme; it muſt be either, by the Goſpel, and patronage of religion: or it muſt be by lawe, (for yf by neither of theſe, they leane vpon a rotten ſtake.) firſt, the lawv is directlie againſt them. For at the Ioyfull entrie, they wear ſubiectſ abſolutelie, and the king was ſouuerain, and to Oreng he committed the liutenancie of theſe contries, Quem lupō. Oreng, and the people, withdrew ther obedienc (vpon ſurmises,) defended ther townes againſt the king, depriued hym of his inheritanc, and mayd them ſelfs ſouueraines. whether wear theſe men guiltie by law, of Treason or no? this is the caſe, trewlie. Damhouderius your con-

contrieman, in prax. criminal. cap. 112. haith drawen your proces. saith he. *Seditiosi sunt*, 1. *qui moluntur conspirationem*, 2. *aduersus rectores & administratores regionum*, 3. *illicitas congregationes populi cogunt*, *cuius commotionibus turbant*, &c. This compared with ther dealing against Alua, Don Iohn, and the Duke of Parma: with ther manie meetings, at Breda and Osterweal; with ther incensing and encooraging the Geules: with ther defenc of Harlem, and Almar: is as good as a comment, to explyne the law. But cap. 82. *Ut bella sint iusta*, requiritur 1. *iusta causa*, 2. *reclamatio*, 3. *personarum idoneitas*, 4. *& auctoritas principum*, *sine qua est iusta Maiestas*. Now yf the states mark that *sine qua*; they may hold down ther heads, and blush. for, in all ther warres, they neither had good coolor, nor iust cawse. they wear secured for ther religion, by the pacification of Gandt, by the perpetual edict, by the articles of the treatie at Coolen, and by enioying all withowt disturbanc: and yet would they not ioyn vvith the states generall, and accept the same.

Also ther was not *reclamatio*, for it was to noorish discord. they pretended euer religion, and the peoples safetie; but the Prince perswaded them to armes and the union,

union, not for the loue of them, but for his own preferuation. Ambition and dispayre wear his motives and counsellors: and reueng, and dispossessing the king wear his ends. And he was the more disloyall, seing he being a person of honor betrayed the trust of so great a charg reposed in hym. And touching that *sine qua*; it was a warr (onther parts) mayd against the king, and not by his authoritie: and not onelie his sword was shaken against the king, but his penn and Apologie, (which was a great error bycause they wear not equallie matched, and of one degree.) He had in the low contries, neither office, nor command, but vnder the wings of the Aegle, or authoritie of the Lyon. And he held all his Belgick lands in fee of the Duke of Burgondie, (as of his Leage Lord:) and ded homage, and fealtie for the same. and he knew also that a soouerain, geues law to his subjects, aswel as offices, and haith power of lyfe and death: and as a learned man noted, the law signifieth the power and command of hym, that haith, the sooueraintie.

Redin.

Besides, Claudius le Brun, in his book of proces ciuil and criminal: addeth this. *Vt soeuer surpriseth, towne Castles, and forts, without order of his soouerain* (as the Prince ded cawse Count Lumay doe in Hollad; and

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and Vorst, and Barland ded Flushing.)
*Whereby the peace of the contrie is broken: or
 who attempteth against the lyfe of the sover-
 rains lieutenant, it is treason.* And these, all
 Europe doe hold, as iudgments, decrees
 of reason, and principles of state which ar
 not to be called in quzstion. and yf the
 states in Holland doe not obserue, hold,
 and practise the same: they can never ex-
 pect, either peace, order, or obedienc in
 ther contrie.

So as it is manifest, that the Hollanders,
 in the beginning ar to be charged with se-
 dition, and in the progress with rebellion
 and treason. And then being traytors by
 law: they haue admirable luck, and art to
 mark them selfs also Lords by lawe. and it
 will be a good encooragement, to ther sol-
 diers; yf men may winn dignities by offen-
 ces, to share the towvnes of Holland
 among them, or to induce them to a *bellum
 pyrricum*, or sociale: and cantonize that
 prouinc by ther own example.

They haue yet one euasion, (which is ra-
 ther of consequenc, then of substanc to
 prooue ther title:) a playster they think
 to salve all sores: that the Archduke haith
 renounced his right: and the king acknow-
 ledgeth them to be now, *liberas provincias,
 & in quas ipse nihil iuris pretendat.* though it

is no ænigma, no riddle, nor such an argument as will pose a lawyer to answer it. yet by cause, I will not doe hurt, whear I would doe good, I leaue it to the consideration of that honorable, and learned Chancellor Peckius: who can best in a fitt tyme, satisfie the world, that it is but a skarecrow, and thunder without a bolt.

By diuini.
22.

So then by law, yow haue hard in what state they stand, for procuring the effusion of so much blood, and breaking the peace of Christendome: so now I desire all both Gomarists, and Armenians, to heare the opinion of Doctor Bilson, a great Pillar of the church of England, and who was chosen to write of this argument, by the greatest Statesman of that tyme: and he writ *cum privilegio*, and the generall allowvance of the church of England.

In his book
of Christiā
subiection.

Saith he shall a king be deposed, yf he break his promise and oath, at his coronation? in anie of the covenants, and poynts he promiseth? He answers, in the margent, the breach of covenants, is no deprivation. And he geues this reason. The people may not break vvith ther Princes, tho ther Princes break vvith God. And aftervvard. *Subiects can not depose ther Princes, to vvhom they must be subiect for conscience sake.* This is a sermon quite contrarie to the Aphorisms of Holland,
and

and the diuinitie of Rochel: and yet it standeth vpon inuincible reason: for as yovv may not by Gods lawve, depose your prince, so yovv ar for bidden to taik armes against hym. And vvhy? D. Bilson, vvil satishe yovv. *For (saith he) he that may fight may kill: and vvay against the Prince, and murdering the Prince, ar of consequence ineuitable.* Aftervvard he addeth this, (to stopp the mouth, of such a Polipragmus, as called the king, *raptorem, & hareticum, & a suo repellendum.*) *The Apostles obeyed the tyrants, that commanded all things against religion. And in those things, vvich vvear commanded against God, they ded submit them selfs vvith meakenes, to endure the Magistrates pleasure, but not to obey his vvill. Lastlie and most to the purpose, he concludeth; yf the lawves of the land appoynt the nobles, as next to the king, to assist hym in doing right, and vvith hold hym from doing vvrong: then ar they licensed by mans lawves, to interpose them selfs: but in no case to deprive the Prince, vvhere the scepter is inherited. Nowv it is certain, that the lawves of the Netherlands geue no such authoritie to the nobles: and yf they ded, yet in no case to to deprive ther Prince, or to abiure ther obedienc: and maik that as a bridg to pass ouer to the sooueraintie. And bycause some of good account and iudgment, haue*
been

been led into that error, that the Dukes of Burgondie, hold not full power, and soveraintie in the Netherlands I will send them to schoole, to all lawyers, records, stories, and (that which is most infallible) to the practise and common lawes of that contrie; to Bodin; and to that ancient and honorable Counsellor, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, in his oration for the *post nati*, pag. 71. *The Dukes of Burgondie* (saith he) *were absolute Princes, and had soverain power in their contries. and King Henry the 8 had as absolute soveraintie, when his stile was Lord of Ireland, as when he was king. for the difference of styles maketh not the difference of soveraintie.*

So then to conclude, yf this warr, begun for religion, was against all the rules of religion: I may dewlie inferre, that as their usurpation is without warrant either of law or the gospel, they continue to hold it without conscience. and have no other title but force, and the canon. And all forreign soldiers that doe assist them (knowing the iniustice of the case, and that the warr is so unlawfull) incur the penaltie of mortal sin, and dainger of damnation: and may as iustlie be reprooved, as king Iosaphat for helping and assisting Achab. Look to the end, for it is certainly

fea-

fearfull to all those who know that, *124*
Θιςς ιςδixv cμa.

I write not thus much, as an enimie to the contrie, (I should a peareles countie, for the goodlie townes, welth, traffick, strength, and fertilitie, in so small a circuite:) nor for anie personall quarrels. nor for anie corruption, or aslentation (in regard of the match with Spayne:) but, onelie the truth of the storie; the dainger of ther president, and the cawle of religion have induced me. for tho I remembered, the dlike had of ther manner of government, ther dealing with the Quenes officers, and of ould how vnkyndlie my lo. Willoughbie had been hearto fore vied by them, as his Apologie can witnes: and of late what complaynts our merchant aduenturors (in ther books) had mayd for ther ill vsage at Mosko, and the east Indies by them: what contempt they showed, when the devvtie of Size Herrings was demanded in his Maiesties right, for fishing on the coast of Scotland, (in presuming to imprison the demander.) and manie such like matters. yet why should these mooue me when the state was not mooued? And when I saye the state, I mean not the people, but the king, (to whome Holland is and was most bownd, for a. high and bynding faoures, which

which require a reciprocall obligation and thankfullnes on ther part: and such as ought to bread in them good blood and amities and respectfull tounge.) first in restoring vnto them the keyes that ded open and lock ther prouine; (not for anie remuneration, but restitution of a part of his devv.) As also for the free permission of ther fishings vpon the English coast: whearin they haue yearlie employed, aboue 30. thousand persons, set to work by it, and aboue 4000. Busses, Doggerbotes, galliots, and pinks, to ther admirable benefit. which is onelie a permission of grace, and no priuiledg by law (for Grotius may withowt contradiction prooue *mare liberum*, as the kings high waye is for euerie mans walk. But he can not prooue, that fishings vpon an other Princes coast be permitted to them.) this is a digression (to a good end.) And therfor I will return to the matter.

THE V. TITLE. OF THE TROWBLES IN BOHEMIA, AND THE PALATINATE.

The trow-
bles and
sedition in

Bohemia Onelie now resteth, as a stage
to present the last Scene of all forren
trage-

trage
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Spayn.
vvhich
rum be
other a
Quando
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they see

tragedies, and tumults for religion. and I Bohemia
will taik the *Palatinate* in my vvaie. An for reli-
vnfortunate prouince of late, (vvhich in a gion.
hundred yeares, haith chainged religion,
sue tymes; and never learned in all that ty-
me, the rules of obedienc.) Wheareof I
nead not maruel, vvhien I think of *Parrens*,
Gracerns, and the schools of the new disci-
pline.

Parrens in his Comment. vpon the 13.
Romans. teacheth, that *subditi possunt suos*
Reges deponere, quando degenerant in tyrannos,
aut suos subditos cogunt ad Idololatriam: Scil.
Subiects may depriue ther Princes, vvhien
they degenerate from a royal gouernemēt
and becommē tyrants; of yf they compel
ther subiects, to Idolatize. (And his mea-
ning is; yf they establish the Mass, and the
sacrifice of the Church, or anie other reli-
gion, then Calvinism:) then erect, excom-
municate, and cast them owt of all autho-
ritie. so terrible a sentenc he giueth, both
against the Emperour, France, Italie and
Spayn. But stay, this is but his first peale,
vvhich he ded ring as the Toxan, the Ala-
rum bell to Bohemia: but he addeth, an
other article, asa iust cawse of deprivation,
Quando pretextu religionis, quarunt propria
commoda, vvhien vnder pretenc of religion,
they seek to maik ther own profit.

P

Which

Which had bean a *lectur* not verrie plausible to king Henrie the 8. nor in Cromwel, or the protectors eares. and surelie, yf a man should ask vvhether *Murrie* and *Murton* in Scotland; vvhether *Oreng* and *Horn* in the Netherlands; vvhether the Admirall and the Princ of Conde in France; vvhether the Protector and the Duke of Northumberland in England, had anie politique respects, anie odd ends of ambition and auarice; other then religion: yow will fynd them guiltie, and subiect to this censure. An other cawse he assigneth for deposition of Princes, *quando grauant conscientias subditorum.*

And after ward, in an other place, to show his constancie in that opinion, and to expownd his own meaning, saith he *subditi, aduersus superiorem magistratum, se & veram religionem, possunt etiam armis iure defendere: si aliter in conscientijs incolumes esse nequeunt*, with which I think ther is no Counsellor, or vwise man, but vwould be iustlie angrie, yf it should be thus translated. the Catholik subiects in Englād, Scotland, Denmark, or the Palatinate, may with armes, by law defend them selfs against ther superiors for defenc of ther religion, yf they can not other wise quietlie enjoy the freedom of ther conscienc.

For

For it is not enough and a sufficient re-
 plie, to say ther religion is irreligious; by-
 cause that is the question.

And in his commentaries in *Iudices*. *Ma-
 gistratus minor potest occidere maiorem*, (and
 expresseth his meaning in that Case) *quod
 tyranni domesticci, magis sunt reprimendi*. As
 yf a man should saye baylifs, sherifs and
 Constables, (for religion) may kill kings
 and counsellors; bycause tyrants vvith in
 our doores, ar most to be feared and cut of,
 (vpon the former conditions before alled-
 ged.)

But was *Parras* the onelie protectot of
 these paradoxes, and the onelie Doctot that
 poysoned the Palatinate with this infe-
 ctious doctrine? no in dead. *Gracerns* his
 pewfellow taught, that *coercenda gladio est
 Antichristi malitia*. and in cap. 13. of the
 Apocal. *Benedictus ciretus*, labourerth to
 stirr vp the people, to hate the name and
 authoritie both of the empyre and Empe-
 ror, with this lecture. *Draconem* (ait) *dedisse
 imperio potestatem suam*. the deucl erected,
 and authorized the Empyre. why? *In Impe-
 rio habitare plenitudinem diabolismi*. for in the
 Empyre, dwelleth the fullnes of the Deuels
 impietie. But these opinions I need not to
 condemn, and aggrauate the dainger the-
 reof; yf it be trevv, that I haue hard: that

in Powles Churchyard, the fyre confuted them, and that worthilie.

And yet be not so gross, as to imagin that onely *Parrens*, *Gracer*, and *Arcius* taught this doctrine: for it is the practise of ther church. Doe not look so stearnlie, vpon me for saying so: bycause I will iustifie it with euident proof. Ther own neighbors, and ther elder brothers; they haue vied with this vnciuil and turbulent inhumanitie. ask *Giesekenius* (a man of learning, and accoumpt emong the Lutherans.) how they behaued them selfs at Emden (a Lutheran state.) he showeth first ther act, 1. *Emdenses illustrem Dominum suum mota seditione, fere tota diuisione populiissent.* The subiects of Emden had almost driuen ther Lord out of his dominions. 2. Then ther force and violenc, *Pactis etiam sunt, ne illustrissimus (omnes,) abeat potestatem, vltius religionis nisi (alumnifici exercitum, subduisus, concedere Emda.* They articted with hym, that his excellencie should not haue powre to grant to his subiects at Emden, the exercise of anie religion but Calvinisme. 3. Lastlie ther grace and kyndnes tother soouerain. *Et tamen liceat ei in aula habere concionatorem, qui sit Augustana confessionis.* They will notwithstanding tolerate, that he shall be suffered, to haue a preacher in his court of the confession

They hate
and perse
quise ib.
Lutherans.

of Auspurgh. A great fauor. subiects will to'erate ther Princes religion; and flame it for them selfs after ther own cutt: they will direct ther gouernor, and he must obey.

Some curious man, will suppose this was a tumult; and that the church of the Palatinate, ded not warrant anie such procéading against Lutherans ther brethren. then mark, and consider this. Anno 1602. ther wear 20. poynts, established in the church of the Palatinate. And the first articl was, *totius Lutheranismus, & omnes libri eorum e medio tollentur.* They decreed, that all Lutheranism, and ther books and writings should be prohibited, and abolished. and in the same Synod diuers opinions of the Lutherans, ar recited and condemned, as yow may see by Schulting. in *hierarchica anacrisi. libro 15. pag. 98.* whearof ceftanlie ther is great reason: for ther is an impossibilitie, that Lutherans and the ministers of the Palatinate should quietlie line together, in one Ecclesiasticall government; they ar incompatible, in respect of ther discipline, ther consistories, ther elders (to say nothing of ther doctrine.)

For these ar the barr that hold owt all ciuil societie, and concurrenc betvean them: these ar the cawle, why they eiected the Lutherans owt of the Palatinate; owt

of Brandenburg; and owt of Emden. these at the cawse, why the Lutherans wiselie provide that they shall haue no footing in Saxonie, Hamburg, and the Hans townes. And these wear the caws, why that great Synode of Torgaw, (convented by the meanes and procurement of the protestant Princes, ded testifie, that *Caluiniani, Christianas Ecclesias omnes, academias, regna, turbauerunt ac vastauerunt.* And yet neither at Caluinists, comprehended vnder the peace and protection of the Empyre: and the religions vried is no vvaye permitted to them. As appeareth by the edict of Charles the 5. *de compositione pacis cum protestantibus anno 1532.* nor in his sentenc. *le confessione Sueuica 1530.* nor in the *interim 1548.* nor in the constitution, *de pace publica.* And touching the acts mayd by the Emperor Ferdinand, at Passau 1552. the verrie words exclude them from all benefit of the pacification, as a thing not intended vnto them, viz. *Interea temporis, nec nos, Electores, Principes, &c. quempiam ex Augustana confessionis statibus, propter religionem vi cogere, bello &c. volumus: sed suae religioni siceique, quiete stare, eadereque sinentes.* And he declareth and explaneth hym self, 1555. at Auspurgh. *Propter Augustana religionem confessionis, nullam violentiam Ecclesiastici inforant, sed liberum*

eius exercitium permittant, usque ad controuersa religionis compositionem. I may hear siclie alledg, the conclusion and agreement of the states of the confession of Auspurg, the thre Electors, and the rest of the Princes, and Citties. *Postquam Deo ita permittente, prater nostram Christianam religionem, & confessionem, haereses sacramentariorum Anabaptistarum, Osiandrinorum, &c. irrepserunt: (qua omnes a pace religionis exclusae sunt.) volumus ut contra illas, in communi mandata edantur, ut eiusmodi haereses eradicentur.* and this was enacted 1557. so it is most playne, that Calvinism is ther iudged an haeresie (by the protestant Princes them selfs, and banished the Emphyre.) and anno 1566. Caesar, and the Princes in the Dyet, decreto publico, scripserunt ad Fredericum Palatinum, *ut errorem Caluini deferat: nec in templis & scholis doceri permitteret.* and this decree was intimated to Frederic the Elector, in the presenc of the Bushops of Ments, Trier, and Coolen: and of Augustus Duke of Saxonie, and the Embassadors of Ioachim of Brandenburg. but the execution was deferred till his death (perhaps to saue his honor.) yet his sonn Lewes obeyed it.

And the same year, in ther replie to the Emperor; the same Princes, ordered, *permittere se nolle, ut ulla secta, cuiuscumq; nominis,*

in Ecclesiis illorum, ipsorum voluntate locum inueniat. quodque eodem modo, & non minus de Suringiana & Caluiniana opinione sentiant.
 and long before 1555 in recessu Imperij, the same was decreed. So yow may wel infer, that Calvinism before was not tollerable in Germanie: and much less now when the Bohemians, haue mayd it intollerable. And worthilie, they ar quite exempted from the protection and benefit of the lawes, liberties, and peace of the Empyre; who ar so factions and busie in the Empyre, both to extirpate the Lutherans, and to suppress the Catholicks, by popular furie and such seditious Aphorisms as *Parram* and the puritans of the Palatinate hold.)

The se wear the fyrebrands of Bohemia, that haue seduced the people; set Princes at Variance; and the kingdome in Combustion.

Shall I need to report the case aright? no. for the originall, of this warr in Bohemia, and the progresse; the stories of *Mercurie François*, *Mercurius Gallobelgius*, and diuers others relate, so as I for beare to touch it, (and my hart greaueth and groineth, for the fatall misfortune of some, that had interest in it.) The long, manie and secret platts and practises wear discouered after the battle of Prague by intercepting
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the papers rolls and records thereof. First by *secreta principis Anhaltini, Cancellaria*, printed 1621. which certanlie was no inuention and fiction, (as the Satirical Catholicon in France against the leaguers was:) but a serious admonition, dull, playne, and withowt affectation: and as a treatise rather to deliuer the truthe, then to show art. And thereof Lundorpius (an historiographer of Frankfort, by his book called *acta publica*) is a good confirmation, who setteth, down the letters and records, of the whole proceeding for a tyme. and Cogmandolo, in an other liel treatise, called *secreta secretorum*, is a fortification of the truthe and credit of that Chancerie, and taketh away all ieaiousie and suspicion of deuise. Vpon this rock then, will I build my relation.

This great vnion, ded beginn 1608. and the Cheafs thereof wear, the Count Palat. Christian Prince of Anhalt, and the Marques of Onoltzbach. Count Mansfeld, was a principal agent, (who 1613. sent 2000. men to ayd the Bohemians, against the Emperor, in contempt of his proclamations and letters.)

Afterward they admitted Ioachim Marquis of Brandenburg, (as Vicarius and Liuetennant of the generall:) and they drew

The beginning of the vnion.

Their assistance.

drew in, the Marques of Baden, the Duke of Wittenburgh, the Landgraue of Hesse, Duc Du-Ponts: Strasburgh, Norimbergh, and other citties. all which did contribute so largelie to these vvarres, (that the Emperor never had the like contribution granted against the Turk.) the particular taxes, yealded by each of them, Cogmandolo setteth down, (vvhich amounted from 1608. to 1619 for so secretlie and so long was it concealed, to the some of 4176917. flor.) This concurrence of so great princes, showed a mightie force: which was much encreased, by the negotiation of Mansfeld, and Nomarus in Italie (scil. Baltas. Newwencheafe secretaire of Onoltzbach:) and of Volrad Plessen with the Hollanders, Bohemians, the Duke of Bullion, Bethlem Gabor, and the rebels of Hongrie. (for they conceaued no hope that the king of England, would enter into ther confederation: for such weightie, and solide reasons, as he alledged.) besides, they hoped of the Grisons assistanc: they gaue owt, that the Hans-townes ded fauor the vnion: and they ded earnestlie sollicite the *Venetians*, to enter into ther league (who ever wear desirous to keap in equall ballanc the Princes of Europe, as fauourers of *Ostracismus*, and icalious

iealous of the too potent supereminencie,
of anie particuler prince.

Hear I am to open an other gate, and to
show yow the scope and end of this vnion:
and whether they stood vpon the tearms of
a pure defence, or to offend also: whether
onelic to *refiste*, or to offer violenc also and
hostilitie: and whether for religion onelic,
or for matters of state and religion (for it
cannot seem probable, that *d'Anhalt* would
again taik armes for conscienc, having
bean for it in France, so wel beaten both
owt of his honor and fortune: and speciallie
Mansfeld, who desperatelie and like a
Cheualier errant, braueth the world with his
running camp.)

*The pre-
sences and
reasons for
the vnion.*

The end, they showed openlie to ayme
most at, was the defence of ther priuiledges,
and the protection of ther religion. but
this was not the full drift, for they meant
to offend the Catholiques. and that doth
wel appeare pag. 127. of the Cancellaria:
wher *Achatins a Donau* writes to *Anhalt* 15.
Nou. 1619. That the intention of Bethlem
and the correspondents is, *piéd à piéd*, to
extirpate the Antichristian Papaltie.

And tho the *union* yt self (so wnded vpon
11. articles,) was sayd to be vndertaken,
as a bukler against the plats and proiects of
the Catholiques: yet articulo 8. they con-
fess,

self, that ther intention was, to expell papisme; to preferu them selfs from the yoke and seruitude of Spayne; and to preuent all forrein governement. And Bethlem Gaborin his letter to the Turk saith plainlie, that he must now labor, *ut rursus pontificiorum cohortes e medio tollatur*. So then, this is assured, that yf they can preuayle; all Catholicks know ther doome, ther suppression, and oppression.

2. But this is not all; though it be euer one. for pag. 43. *Ecclesiasticorum inuasio*, is let Down for a cause. and therfor pag. 67. we must say they, earnestlie labo: and spare no cost, to possess our selfs of *Augusta Treuironum*, (Trier.) for so they should be commanders of a Prince Electors contrie, and triumph over the cleargie.

3. Neither yet, was this all: for ambition, shooting at the highest and fayrest markes, took order for her maintenanc pag. 131. *ut aduersae partis Provincia inuadantur*, to invade ther contries, that should taik armes against them.

But ther noblest proiect, was: to inuest them selfs in Bohemia and Hungaria. Two crownes v year goodlie booties, and temptations fitt for high spirits. and why ded they first, and so earnestlie, affect Bohemia? The reason is giuen pag. 23. for therby, in

Collegium

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Collegio Electorum, compos erit *votorum duorum*, he should haue two voyces; and he was sure of the consent and concurrenc of Brandenburghs suffrage.

And ther for the Count Palatin in his letter, to the Elector of Saxonic, saithe. The cause why he ded tawk vpon hym the Administration of Bohemia, was this. that, 1st therby this kingdome might not be longer restrayned and detayned from the vse and exercise of ther religion; and 2nd that they might enioye ther priuiledges, and and not be mayd hereditarie: or fall into the hands of Spayne, to the preiudice of the Electors. and 3rd that hereafter the election of king of the Romans might be in the pover and Choyce of the Protestant Princes, by the pluralitie of voyces. (So he thought, they should not be forced to hould the stirrop; while the Popes vwear mounted, and Papists ded gouern all in the Empyre.) And peraduenture for that end purposed, yf they could: to hinder that Ferdinād, might not be chosen king of the Romans. For so Anhalt ded vwrite to Donau, in May 1612. that it vwear better, the Turk or the Deuel should be chosen and preferred to vwear that crown, then Ferdinand. and B. Gabor by his letters certified the Turk, that the Pal. and Brandenburg wear

vveare resolved no longer to endure Ferdinand: and that all these Prouinces, vvhoe vveare in the league, *Sultano*, & *toti nationi Mahumetica corde & anima omnia officia fidelissime prastabunt*: and that Ferdinand shortly should be expelled Germanie to seek his succor in Spayne. Is not this a holie league? Be not the ends charitable, and the *media* most Christian?

4.

But the truthe is, Ambition vvas Hongrie: they consulted who should haue the beares skinn, before the beare vvas taken: they conspired to share emong them the spoyle of the Cleargie of Germanie, and to maik a praye of the howse of Austria. For by the rolls of ther Chancerie it appeareth, that they intended to aduance the Palatine, to *Bohemia*, *Alsatia*, and a part of *Austria*: and to enlarg his dominion, by the Bushoprick of *Spyres*, and a part of *Mentz*. Bethlem Gabor, should be assisted to keap Hongrie, the vvhich he hauing no islew) might also happilie fall to the lott of the Palatine (Too manie crownes so purchased, to expect anie in heauen.)

Onoltzbach gaped for two fatt benefices, the Bushopricks of Wirtzburg, and Bamberg, (his next neighbors:) and therfor it vvas agreed that there should be the *Reverendous* of the Armie,

The

The Marques of Baden, thirsted after
Brissack; and to be inabled, to continue his
vniust possession of the vpper Marchiona-
te; and to owt face the Count Eberstein
(vwho had endured much wroug at his
hands.) Wirtzburg was a mote in the eye
of Brandenburg, it laye near and fitt for
hym: and therfor his dessein vvas to haue a
share in it.

Anhalt, hoped to supplie his wants, by a
part of the spoyle, both of Ments, and
Bambergh; and by some lands and lord
ships, which wear like to escheat in Bohe-
mia.

And yf the Venetians would ioyn in this
Association, they might with so good assis-
tance easilie maik them selfs Lords of *Istria*,
and *fruli*. and by this meanes, *Oceanum*,
cum Adriatico, sayd they, *posse coniungi*. A
great conquest surelie: and it showed a de-
uouring stomach; that could swallow so
great morsells, and so wel digest and dispose
them, before they had them.

It resteth now to demurr vpon these
poynts; and to examin, what Apologie,
and what arguments can they alledg strong
enough, to defend a proiect, and a conspira-
cie, so pernicious to the whole state of
Christendome, and so directlie against the
law of nations, and the peace of the Empyre.

All

y. Reason.

All the Pulpits in England, and the churches (called reformed) ded generallie and lowdelie sownd an *Alarm*, against treason and rebellion of the league and leaguers of France: and yet that ded not extend it self, beyōd the Alpes or the Maze, as this dothe.

And yt was at first vnderaken quietlie, withowt anie sedition or insurrections in the state. And was for defenc onelie of ther ancient religion, (withowt anie temporall respects:) and confirmed with the kings oath and allowance: and afterward it was continued in reueng of Murder, and actions of Tyrannie.

Now consider what was ther scope? Monsieur de Villeroy, in the relation of his seruices maiks it euident. they ded not seek the extirpation of the king of Nauarr, but his reformation: and yt they might be assured of his religion, he should be assured of ther obedienc.

But this vnion runneth a vvilder race. It is not onelie a new religion, but the lands of the old religion they gape after: and the affection they haue to the latter, maiks them more greedie, to suppress the former. And yet all must be sayd to be doone for religion, though it be doone most irreligiouslie, hauing neither, the order, nor the *media*, nor the end religious. how could

could it then succeed and prosper well, that
begonn so ill ? and how could it beginn
worle, them to march vnder too such stan-
dards, as ambition and auarice.

And therfor most wiselie, ded that excel-
lent Duke of Saxonie, as a friend of peace,
aduise the Count Palatin to renounce Bo-
hemia, and seek for pardon : bycause this
warr ded open the gates of the Empyre, to
let in the Turk, which of it self was a suffi-
cient cause to condemn ther vnion. for yf
ther quarrel had bean good ; yet the effects
yt ded work, wear bad.

2. Ratio.

Moreover, Pleissen confelleth in his let-
ters to Anhalt, that which is most trew,
the actions of Holland, and Bohemia, *ex-*
dem fundamento niti : so Holland is the pat-
tern, Bohemia the imitation : suits of one
cut : lessons of one schoole. And seing
that of Holland is sufficientlie disprooued,
alreadie, I need not vse anie nevv argu-
ment to refell this, but referr yow to the
precedent discourse. for they took armes
against a king lawfullie elected, solemnelie
crowned, and by consent of the states esta-
blished in possession, what could be more
orderlie ? and so shortlie after, to depose
hym ; and vpon so weak surmises, to show
so much leuitie : needs better arguments
then yet I could ever heare.

3. Ratio.

Q

Ans

And it was mayd the more odious, by nominating the Duke of Saxonie, as a competitor and a stale; to maik hym suspected to the Emperor, as *reum affectati imperij*: knowing that he had refused ther offer, when they employed Count Slick to perswade, that he vwould imbark hym self, in the busienes, and accept the crowvn of Bohemia, which in dead they never intended to a Lutheran prince.

4 Reason

An other reason, doth much exaggerate the offence. By ther president, Austria vvas corrupted (see how stronglie examples work with a multitud.) The people, (saith the the Register of the Chancerie) by the correspondenc of the Turk and Gabor, took coorage; and told Ferdinand, that yf he would not grant them toleration of religion, and freedome of conscienc: they vwould ioyne vvith the Bohemians and Hungarians, and renounce ther obedienc to hym. And they vwear maisters of ther words: for in August 1620. the lower Austria, abandoned ther Lord (the ancient inheritor of that noble patrimonie,) quitted ther obedienc, and accepted a new protector in his stead. I am sure the subiects of England vwould condemn the Catholicks, (and so they might iustlie) yf they should stand vpon the like tearmes, and ther ancient title;

title; and in defence of that, seek to expell
ther soouerein, and invest a strainger in the
government, to serue ther turn. And sure-
lie ther cases, ar matches: yf the one might
by law, the other maye: and yf yow, con-
demn the one, yow must vnpartialie con-
demn the other.

But nothing maiks this action more of- *S. Rastus*
fensive, more scandalous, and more infam-
ous, then that Anhalt and Onoltzback,
(*in seijt electoribus*,) ded confederate them
selves vvith straingers: and dispose of the suc-
cession of the Empyre, vvithovv the vvar-
rant of the Empyre. and this fault is dov-
bled, by combining vvith Berthlem Gabor;
Christians, vvith the Turks vassal, a repro-
bate, a monster.

This is that B. Gabor, vvho to hold
hym self in the Turks grace, deliuered vn-
to hym, the town and fort of Lipp, and the
townes of Solimos, Tornadg. Margat, and
Arad (vvell fortified) in Hungaria.

This is he, vvho treated vvith the Hun-
gars, 1607. to deliuer vp Vacca (a tovvn
Episcopall) into the Turks hands; to the
great preiudice of religion, and oppression
of Christians. This is he, that svvore allea-
giance to Gabriel Batthori his soouerein
Lord, and Prince of Transilvania; and af-
terward trayterouslie murdered hym and

vsurped his state. This is he, who mayd a league vvith the Emperor Matthias 1615. not to attemptanie thing against the liberties and peace of Hongrie: and afterward practised vvith the rebells of that state, invaded the kingdome, took vpon hym the crown 1620. led Andrew Dockzy the kings Lieutenant (caught in his nett by frawd) prisoner into Transilvania, and banished all the state Ecclesiasticall (that he might feed his soldiers vvith the spoyles of the church.)

And this is he, who hauing entered *Person*, prophaned the Cathedral church of S. Martin; placed there his new Chaplains, and aftervvard vvith his own hand certified the Turk; that at last he had vnderaken that vvorthie exploit, to the vvich the Turk had oft incooraged hym: and that most of the nobles of Hongarie, vvear his, and had submitted them selfs to hym: and that now he vvas determined for the clearing, seing they gloried to shaue ther crownes, he vvould glorie to cutt of ther heads. whearupon in Iun after: the Turk mayd peace vvith Tartaria, and promised to assist Gabor, at his need vvith 40. thousand Tartars.

What rare vertues can be expected, from such a man, whose anatomic yf it vvear to be

be mayd, vwould shovv such a leaproulie
such a corruption of blood, and so loath
some a bodie; as Europe haith not oft kno-
wen. I head no other reason against this
league, but to subscribe his name, (as a
principall in the cōtract) whome the world
must needs iudg vnlike to be a fitt instru-
ment to aduanc the Crosse of Christ, and
to reforme religion.

Yet this vvas the man vpon vvwhose head
the vnion ded agree to set the crowvn of
Hongarie; and to carrie the practise vvith
more secrecie, they intertaind his nearest
kinsman at Heydelbergh; vnder the gown
of a scholler, to hyde all ther intelligences,
and conduct ther busienes.

Novv, doe I vvish, that a partiall reader, *G. Reason.*
would look vpon Germanie, and see the
picture of Troye on fyre; see the image
and horror of vvarr: and havv vvell it
vvould please them to see the face of Lon-
don, and Midlsex so disfigured with wounds
and desolation. and that puritan, vvho
novv is most forvvard to blovv the coals
of discord and sedition, and inflame a state
vvith furie and quicksiluer: may quake
and trembl vvhen he shall consider in
vvhat devastation, all that contrie of the
Empyrelyeth mourning and groning.

The Prouinces abovv the Rhine ar

Q 3

vvai-

waited, disturbed, and empouerished by the soldiers on both sydes (specially *vverms*;) tillage is suspended, traffick is decayed, trades are ceased, taxes are imposed, new fortifications charge the contrie, men are not maisters of their own goods, and aboue 100. thousand men are accepted to be slayne. thes are the fruits of ciuil warres; which are bitter and soure to them that taste them, (as I pray god England may neuer.)

And these are the fruits of Caluinisme: which (though it was directlie prohibited by the law, and tolerated onelie by the mercie of the state;) seeketh now, to suppress both the Emperor and the states, without any toleration of their religions. an vncharitable requital: and without the seal of any religion. for your iustifying sole faith can never iustifie (without yt bring charitie in her bosome:) and the trew marks of Charitie being patienc, humilitie, and zeal conioyned stronglie in a link: your int patienc, and humilitie, conuince your zeal to be counterfeit, and your faith to be fruitles. for charitie would not direct you, to moue the Duke of Bauier his territories, yf he refused to stand Neuter: charitie did not counsel Anhalt, in his letters to Donau: 1619. to haue an auaricious eye, to surprize a cittie, which would be
worth

wvorth vnto them 32. millions. Charitie doth not vse to direct Christians to sollicite the Turks assistance (as page 80. Cancellariz:) nor to set down such plots, as they intended p. 42. and 32. and 66.

Now touching the lawes of the Empe- 7. Reason.
re, I referr yow to that I haue deliuered before, against the commotions of the Lutherans: which ther is iustlie condemned. Onely I will add this, touching Bohemia, Carolus 4. in act. de confirmatione regis Bohemorum, setteth down this clause, as an essential part, of that kings authoritie and approbation. *Volentes, ut quicumque in regem Bohemorum electus fuerit, ad nos & successores nostros, Romanorum reges & Imperatores accedat, sua à nobis debito modo & soluto, regalia accepturus, non obstantibus iuribus, & legibus municipalibus quibuscunque, &c.* And in the Aurea bulla, cap. 4. Curia Nurenberg. act. 7. *Iubemus & volumus, ut omnes Principes, Electores, &c. & art. 8. Si quis autem Princeps Elector, aliusue feudum à sacro tenens impeno, supra & infra scriptis Imperialibus constitutiones adimplere noluerit, aut eis contrare presumpserit: ex tunc ceteri Coelectores, à suo ipsum deinceps excludant consortio, ipseque voce Electoris, dignitate careat, & iure.* Wherby it is mayd manifest, what the law requireth to be doone, and what order and mannèr it prescribeth

for the doeing thereof: and what pñaltie and forfeitur is sett doone against offenders and transgressors of that lawe. And good reason. for take away or neglect *Justice*; pretend what yow will, your great glorious attempts, your inuasions, your intrusions, be but *magna latrocinia*, and violent oppressions. as appeared well, by the supplication of *Leopold* king of the Romans, to his father *Otho I.* who bycause he had broken the peace of the Empyre, and called forteiners (and yet not Turks) to his assistanc. saith he, *membrum Imperij appellari non debeo, qui gentes externas & barbaras, in mediam Germaniam immisi.* (orrowing for his fault, and acknowledging his error.

2. Reason.

But these Minyeons of Geneva, bring Religion to plead for the defens of their vnion: and that they endeauored onelie to punish *Ochosias*, for consulting with the Idol of *Accharon*, and to root out superstition. Hear in dead is the voyce of *Iacob*, but the roughnes of *Esau*: words of pietie, but actions of *Babel*. can yow show as good a warrant as *Elias* had? ded God call yow, ded God authorise yow, to depriue your Princes? *per me Reges regnant*, vvas Gods proposition: and *S. Peter 1. Epist. c. 2. v. 13.* be subiect to euerie humane creature for God, whether to a king as excelleng, or to rulers.

lers. His counsell and yours varie much for he willed them to fear God, and honor the king: but yow direct your auditors to de- grade and depose the king. S. Paul Rom. 13. v. 1. Let euerie sowl be subiect to higher powers, for ther is no power but of God: and he vvho resisteth that powver, resisteth Gods ordinanc, and purchaseth damnation. and v. 5. not of necessitie, but for conscienc sake. But this matter, needs no disputation: grace and pietie can best decyde it.

TITVLVS SEXTVS.

AT last by a long trauel, we ar retour- *Touching,*
ned home to England, wheare no *2. Ma-*
such paradoxes, ar novv holden by the *rie, and the*
Cleargie, and prelates. and it is no maruel. *practises*
for now, they haue the wynd with them, *against*
and liue in a calme: so as ther patienc and *her.*
obedienc (of late dayes) neuer cam to
probation: and no tryal could be mayd of
ther spirits, having no crosses, nor other
combate, then with sinn and Martin Mar-
prelate: and in so great peace and prosperi-
tie, he wear not *campos mentis*, that vvould
not preache against disloyaltie, and tumults.
But

But yf yovv look back to the tymes past, and call to mynd, what spirit raigned in them, during anie storme, or tempest: yow will fynd them much differing from them selfs, and that they wear not allwaies so peacable and regular, (as now they ar,) since they appeared first in the world, as Antagonists to the church of Roome, and with that singularitie, and title of Reformers.

For yf maister Fox ded trewlie register his martyrs, and yf the Wiclefists and Waldenses wear rightlie inserted in *Catalogo-
rum veritatis*; then may yow fynd cavve enough to dovvt of ther humors, and quiet disposition. and yf yow ask my reason. *Bycaws they ded hold (as the knoxians yet doe in Scotland.) That the people might correct Princes, yf they offend: contrarie to all the Theoremes of Catholick schooles.* And therfor Philip Melancton, in his comment vpon Aristotels politiccks, saith, *Mirastragedias, excitavit VViclefus, qui contendit eos, qui non habent Spiritum sanctum, amittere dominium.*

And in his book, *de iure magistratus*, *Insa-
nijs VViclefus, qui sensit impios, nullum domi-
nium habere.* As yf Princes, should forfeit ther crownes; yf they lost grace, and Gods favor.

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And Ofiander witnesseth the same, *Centuria* 9. And yet maister Fox, calleth hym, *Stellam matutinam in medio nebula*, & *lunam plenam in diebus illis*. A morning starr, in the midit of a fogg, and yet the full moone, of that tyme.

How plausible he was, in those dayes, no man will maik a Quere, that can Remember, how Syr Iohn Oldcastel (Lord Cobham) and Syr Roger Acton, (wiclefs disciples) leuied 25. thowfand men, intending to destroye the monasteries of westminster, Powles, and sainct Albons, and all the howses of friars in London; whearof that actiue king Henrie the fifth, being aduertised in good tyme, (by the confession of some of ther partakers:) with great diligence he preuented them at S. Gyles fealds (appointed to be ther *Rendeuons*:) and incountring those straglers, who weare there attending the generals comming: apprehended, condemned, and executed 37. of the principalls, for exampl and terror to the rest. And he afterward hunted ouvt and fownd Oldcastel, and Acton, and put them to death, being attainted of Treason, and Hertesie, as by the records appeareth.

All which maister Fox laboureth to extenuate and falsifie, and disprooueth them as calumniations and slaunders. but with

with no success; as yow may learn by Iohn Stow pag. 550. and by Doctor Hapsfealds Ecclesiasticall storie, lately published by a worthie man of our nation.

For it is euident that 1. Henry 5. the Wilefists sett schedules, on powles Church door, publishing that ther vvas a hundred thousand men, readie to ryse against such as wear enemies to ther sect. And in a synod holden at London, for diuers poynts of doctrine touching the Sacraments, Oldcastle was committed to the towre, (from whence he broke owt.) and afterward one Bennet was executed, partlie for harbouring Oldcastle, partlie for seditious libells against the king: whearupon, (as also for some practises at kenelworth against the king) Oldcastl was endited in the Parliament, before the Duke of Bedford, (asan enemy to the state.) he answered them with contempt, accompting it as a trifle to be iudged by them, (belike bycause they wear sinners: and bycause (he sayd) he had no iudge among them, so long as king Richard liued.

And at his deathe, he spake like a man frantick to Syr^r Thomas Erpingham; that yf he sawe hym rise the third daye, he wold procure quietnes, and fauor to those of his sect.

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And surelie yf yovv look into *Wicless* ovvnylse tyme; yovv shall fynd it no marvel, yt his doctrine ded so far seduce Old-castl: having procured therby, so great patrons and frends in the court, at his first rising; and such applause in the vniuersitie of Oxford (the place best able to iudge of his learning, and illumination.)

Iohn of Gand, Duke of Lancaster, ded much fauor and parronize, this martyr *Wicless*: in so much, that he being summoned, to appeare before the Bushop of London: the Duke ded hym so much grace, to go with hym thither for his better protection, assisted with Syr Henrie Percie (the Marshall of England) to discountenance the Bushop, to encourage *Wicless*, and to animate and encrease his sectaries and followers in ther course.

And it was worthie the noting, that Religion was euen then vsed, as a fayre *vestment*, to couer manie fowle practises. for the Duke and *Wicless* had seuerall ends. the Duke graced hym, bycause he was so generallie plausible: the better to overthrow both the liberties of the Church, and the Charters of London; both which laye as blocks in his waye, to hinder the course of his aspiring desseins.

And this appeared playnelie, by Iohn
Lactimor

Lattimor (an Irish friar:) who accused the Duke of manie practises, speciallie of his intention to vsurp the crown. (which mayd hym so popular.) But Latimor being committed by the Dukes meanes to the custodie of Syr Iohn Holland, in the night before he should come to his answer: the poor man, was strangled by Holland and Grean.

But to come nearer, to the present age. In Quene Maries tyme, examin how obedient these Reformers wear, to that magnanimous Quene, and the Crown. and it is worthie to be noted: that in fve yeares, (the too short tyme of her raigne:) she had *de facto*, more open and violent opposition and rebellion by her own subiects; then Quene Elizabeth had in 45. yeares. (for the treasons of Preafts, and religious men; weare but skar-crowes in dead; fictions, mayd faults by law: deuised by pollicie, and mayd offences, rather then being so of them selfs.) How playne was her gouernement, and how farr from tricks: a litle feuear (to which she was oft forced:) for though she was a great Iusticer; yet withall how merciefull she was, appeared manifestly by her gracious compassion to the Dutches of Sommerfet, to Syr Iohn Cheak, to Syr Edward Mountagevv (the
cheat

cheaf Iustice,) to Syr Roger Cholmlie, to the Marques of Northampton, Syr Henrie Dudlie, Syr Henrie Gates, the Lord Robert Dudlie, (who stood attainted) and to the Duke of Suffolk: whome all she knew, and had before fownd to be enemies of her religion, and no frends to her title, and yet she released them all ovvt of the towre, whear they vveare prisoners.)

Notwith standing all this: the Protestants vvear never quiet, nor suffred her to be quiet. some ded libell against the regiment of vvæmen: some picked quarrels to her marriage: some published discourfes and inuectiues against her religion: and some conspired her deprivation, to aduance her successor (by vvwhose aduancement euerie Calvinist expected a golden fleace.)

The grovvnd of all these seditions actions, vvas the religion they professed (then not fullie six yeares old) a religion of more libertie, more pleasing to the gallants of a court: and voyd of these austerities and mortifications, which the ancient Catholiques obserued vvith reuerence.

But emong manie others, that book of obedienc, prepared most the vulgar, to insurrections and mutinies. for pag. 94. he affirmeth, that Quene Marie deserued to be

be put to Death, as a tyrant and monster. Ded euer anie Catholick write so? or ded the pen of anie seminarie man blot the paper with so barbarous a sentenc? Yet knox libro, appellat. *ad nobilitatem & popul.* Scot. foyneth hands with Goodman, and backeth his opinion. *Ilud (inquit) audacter affirmaverim, debuisse nobiles, rectores, indices, populumque Anglicanum non modo resistere & repugnare Maria illi lesabeli, quam vocant reginam suam, verum etiam de ea & Sacerdotibus eius supplicium sumere.* and these, yet wear not all. Procead. Syr Thomas Wyat, is worthielie chronicled for his rebellion: who marched as a *Cyrus*, ouer Shooters hill with his armie: threatning both coun and cittie, Prince and people. Yet this holie Goodman, cap. 14. in his *Obedience*, commendeth hym, and saith, he ded but his dewtie: and that it was the dewtie of all that professed the gospell, to haue risen with hym. and pag. 43. He affirmeth, that it is lawfull to resist the superior powvers, and vrgeth all states to take armes against her.

But whear ded Goodman and knox suck this sweet doctrine? at Geneva, (the school of *Monarchomachia*) whear Buchanan, ded learn the same, and all for one end. and maister *Whittingham* in his preface to that book; confesseth that it was approoued to
be

be a good and godlie treatise, by the principal of that cittie, that is Calvin and Beza. And albeyt in Quene Elizabeths tyme, Goodman is said to haue recalled that opinion: yet it was neuer publickly recalled by hym, and disallowed: and besides it sheweth in Quene Maries tyme, vnder the crosse and affliction of what spirit, he and his faction weare of.

Yf yow dowbt, vpon what pretence Wyat ded rise, (by cause some maik quæstion thereof:) surelie it was partlie for religion, partlie for *bonum publicum*, to hinder the Quenes marriage: (for both ioynthly concurred, as Stow and Hollinshead agree.) He that shall presume to defend, that it was not for religion; Quene Marie in her oration at the Guildhall in London, doth re-
fell hym: for she declared, that she had sent diuers of her counsell to Wyat, to demand the pretences of his insurrection: and she sayd it appeared to her counsell, that it was
a Spanish Cloke to Couer religion.

It is trew, that wyat vrged, to haue the Towr deliuered to hym: and to haue powr to nominate and choose new counsellors: and that he would not trust, but be trusted.

weare these indifferent demands of a subject? Or regalities fitt to be offred to his mercie? was this to preferu the Quene?

R

Surelie

Surelie *Violene*, and the Sword, be vnfit
keapers of a Princes person.

And touching Religion, Fox hym self
saith. that for religion they cōspired emong
them selfs, and mayd wyat ther Cheafe:
the reason was, that by forren marriage,
the Quene would bring a seruitude vpon
thereame, and establish popish religion
ther in.

Now vpon these premisses, mark what
ensewed. *William Thomas*, conspired to
kill the Quene: and at his execution, he
gloried, that he dyed for the good of his
contrie.

Doctor Pendlton preaching at Powles
Crosse, one discharged a peece against hym.
and at the same place, an other daye: one
threw a Dagger at maister Bourn (being in
the pulpit:) wheare the lord Maier could
scarfelic appease the tumult: so as the lords
of the counsell, the next sonday after, to-
gether with the Garde, went thither to
preuent, or to punish such disorders (yf
anie should there happen againe.)

And at westminster, vpon an Easter
daye, a desperate fellow, wounded a preast,
as he was saying Masse, in saint Margerets
Church.

So great was the distemperature of the-
se inflamed puritans; who complayne so
much

much against the persecution of that tyme, and yet they prouoked it : and hauing no powre to command, yet had they no humilitie to obeye : and when they might haue liued quiet them selfs, yet would not suffer others to liue quiet, in whose authoritie it laye to disquiet them.

But I will mount to offences a degree higher. William Fetherston (a counterfet king Edward) was brought vpon the stage, as a Parkin warbeck, to disturb both the Quene and the state.

What strains of inuention and pollicie; wear these against a Prince, for her religion : but hear they stay not. for One Clebar (sometymes a Pardante) remaining at yakeslie in Northfolk, was put to death, for a conspiracie against the Quene. Vdal, Stanton, Peckam, and Daniel, wear committed both for conspiracie, and hærésie, and for attempting to robb her treasure, and the Exchecquor, (for which they had there dew punishment.) To let passe the treason of Dudlie and Ashton (who wear sett on, and stirred vp by the French:) Syr Peter and Gawin Carie, (great protestants) together with Syr Thomas Dennie, took armes in Deuonshyre, to hinder and empeach the king of Spayne his arriuall in England : possessed the selfs of Excetor Castell:

and afterward perceauing ther own weaknes, and less assistance then they expected; they fled into France, which was then the harbour for the malcōtents of this nation.)

Thomas Stafford, (comming wel instructed from Geneua) mayd proclamations publicklye in several places, that Queene Marie, was not lawfull Queene, and vnworthie to be Queene. and to abuse the people, he gaue out boldlie and falselie, that twelf of the strongest houlds in England, and best fortified, wear committed to the custodie and command of the Spanyards, (to maik them the more odious; vvhome they hated onelie for ther religion and povver, and no other particuler quarrel.) and therfor, he, Bradford, Procter, and Streachlie, took Skarborow castle (a fort then of some strength, in yorkeskyre, to hould against the Spanyards: and in recompenc, of so great a seruice, they vvorthilie lost ther heads.

Henrie Duke of Suffolk, (to vvhome Queene Marie had once before given his lyfe, being father to Ladie Iane, a priue counsellor to the treasons of Northumberland, and her prisoner in the towre:) he flying into Leicestershyre vvith the Lord Gray; in his iournie he likevvise mayd proclamations against the Quenes marria-

ge vvith Spayn (for that vvvas then the greatest obieſt of the Proteſtants mallice:) and finding his diſabilitie, to leuie a commanding armie, he fled, and lurked in corners; till the Earl of Huntington, diſcovered his hole, apprehended and brought hym vp to the tovvre (his old lodging,) vvhear he mayd an vnfortunate end.

I might vrge the practiſes of Syr Nicholas Throgmorton (a man of great vvitt and pollicie,) vvho vvvas endited of high treaſon, and arraigned at Weſtmiſter, vvith Arnold, Warner, and Others. And though the caſe vvvas playne, the Iurie acquitted hym, but to ther coſt and trouvble.

Albeyt he had cavvle to thank God, that it vvvas not in a tyme, vvhen the Aduocates vvcar ſo ſkilfull to triumph at the Barr vpon calamities, and vvilling rather that the priſonner ſhould looſe his head, then they vvould looſe ther Oration; and the glorie of the daye. Thus vvvas Quene Marie toſſed in a ſea of trouvbles, *tanta molis erat, Romanam Condere gentem.*)

But ſome haue obieſted, that no Miniſters, had a hand in theſe tumults: nor vvcar the trompettors of ſedition, at that tyme. yes ſurelie both ther heads and ther hands ded cooperate. Doe yovv taik Goodman and Gilbie to haue bean no miniſters?

R ;

Ievvel

Ievvel preached at Gloucester, against the Quens proceedings: D. Sands vvalked vvith the ragged staff, and being vicechanlor of Cambredg, assisted the proclaymers of ladie lane. Hooper, Rogers, and Crovvlie vveare entolled as frends of these actions: and diuers others vvho in Quene Mariess tyme, after vvyatts fall, ded forsake the realme.

And vvhat think yovv of the two Apostles of that tyme, Cranmor and Ridlie? vveare not they instruments of the Quenes trouvbles? A great Doctor, vvith great subtiltie laboureth to excuse Cranmor and Ridlie, that they committed no trespass against Q. Marie, nor in her tyme. Syr though the tyme, doth not excuse ther offence (yt it had bean fullie committed in king Edwards dayes) being actions of iniustice, and against the rules of common reason and conscienc.

Yet I may say, *non bene diuisa sunt hæc temporibus.* **D.** for it is euident, that Ridlies sermon was after king Edwards death, and so could haue no shelter vnder his authoritie; bycause all men of vnderstanding know, that the raign of a Prince commeth not at the tyme of his coronation, but actually vpon the death of his predecessor. Now it is certan, that the Sondaye after
king

king Edward dyed, D. R d i e^r (being Bish-
hop of London,) sayling with the wynd
in his sermon at Powles crosse, (like an
Other infamous Shavve) magnified and
defended the title of the ladie Iane, to
the crowne of this realme; perswaded the
people to accept and obeye her, as Que-
ne: and so impugned the invincible right
of both king-Henries Daughters, against
his own conscienc and knowledg, and di-
rectly against king Henries will. and ther-
for he vvas iustlie convicted and attainted
of treason.

As for Cranmor, he was a counsellor
and oracle in the busienes: and therfor was
arraigned and condemned, with the Ladie
Iane, and Guildeford Dudlie, as a contri-
uer and principall assistant, of that treason-
nable practise, to disherit bothe the Que-
nes: and to graft the princelie roses vpon a
crabtree stock. (as appeareth by the records
in the kings bench.) and I may trevvlie
affirm of that *Proteus*, that in all his actions,
he showed hym self ever servilie plyable
to anie humor of the kings.

First a principall instrument of the di-
vorce, (whearby the court gates vwear set
open, to welcome Ann Boolein.) then af-
terward, to serue the kings appetite, he and
Cromwel wear the cheaf actors, employed

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for her condemnation and deathe. (as appeareth, by the statut, 28. H. 8. c. 7. whear Cranmors sentenc is recorded iudiciallie, as of his own knowledg convincing her of that fowle fact.)

So as Quene Elizabeths frends had no cawse to fauour hym, either for dew respect of her, or of her father: or for kyndnes to her moother. and all vnpartiall men will condemn hym of inexcusable iniquitie, that being a countellor of state, a primate and Metropolitan, and pretending to be a reformer of religion; he would betray his maister (whose creature he was) would frustrate and voyd his will, (wheateof he was cheaf executor:) would subscribe to extinguish and root out his islew, his two daughters, two Quenes, to set vp Ladie Iane in there places.

And all this baselie, and against his own conscienc: and all to pleas a subiect, all for feare of affliction, against which he was never well armed (as appeared by his so manie chainges, relapses, and periuries: offences, which I leaue to God, as faults of frayltie and badges of humain weakenes. But to come to the matter. All these aforelayd being overt acts, and treasons *in se*, and *simpliciter*, and by the common lawes of the realme, and by the statut of

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25. Edw. 3. I think I may, well conclude that Calvinism, and the new religion, are most dangerous to princes: and have been the great est cause, of all the vvarrs, seditions, and depopulation in Europe, ever since Luther (a man of unhappie memorie.)

And yet I can not but commend that religion, bycause it is *semper eadem*, you may allwaies know it, by the coonifance, by the operation, and fruits of it. Metoni-
mian

It is the same that induced them of Geneva, to expell ther Bushop and Lord: the same that mooued them of Sweceland, to depriue ther lawfull king: the same that procured Holland, to depose ther soouerein: the same that solicited subiects to deposeth'Emperor, king of Bohemia. the same that emprisoned, the vertuous martyr, and Quene of Scotland, and cast her into that calamitie, vvhich haunted her euen to deathe: the same that authorized Rochel, and Montauban, to stand at defiance against ther king the same that begot so manie monstrous conspiracies against Quene Marie of England, (as you haue hard.) So as, in 60. yeares, no Princes haue been deposed by the Protestants for ther religion: then had been by the Popes excommunication, or the attempt and meanes

meanes of Catholicks in 600. And yet for all this, I perceau all these actions, haue some Champions: at least, some men of note, seek to excuse them. as, vvhē vve object Svvedia; maister T. M. defends it, and geues reason, *that it vvas the demand of the vvhole state, for defence of ther priuiledges and liberties, and ffirmation of religion.*

A writ is brought *de electione firmā*, against Sigismond king of Svvecia, by his owne subiects; the king is giected therupon: and T. M. allowes it, bycause it vvas the demand of the vvhole state, &c. Consider better, first doe yovv talk of a vvhole state, and maik the king no part of it? the head no part of the bodie? can ther be a monarchie vvithovv a king? yovv harp to near knowes tune, and a Scots gig.

The vvhole state, id est, the people, (either sollicitied or disposed to aduanc Duke Charles, vvithovv the kings consent to sweare his crowne) ded elect Charles ther king, and deprived Sigismond.

This was yow say for defence of ther priuiledges and religion. So then yow think for the setwo cawses, they might iustlie depose ther king: and so the kings maiestie knowveth, vvhat assuranc he may haue of you, and vvhat a sure stake yovv set for kings to leane on. can yow defend
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this fact: it is the same, that Holland and Bohemia committed? then against whom is rebellion, against the people or the king? The law is playne, no vvarr can be mayd, withowt the authoritie of the prince, *sine qua est laesa maiestas*: and that is a fundamental law in euerie monarchie; (which yovv turn to a Democratie by leauing the bridle in the Peoples hand.) Yf yovv vwill vouch safeto hear S. Augustin, he saith l. 22. cap. 75. *contra Faustum, ordo naturalis, mortalium paci accommo datus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli authoritas atque consilium, penes Principem sit.* and he geues a reason, for *non est potestas nisi à Deo vel iubente vel sinente.* and bycause yow thinke they ought by force of armes to resist ther king, for religion: c. 76. he answereth your obiection, by exāpl of the Apostles, *Illi non resistendo interfecti sunt, ut potiores esse docerent victoriam, pro fide veritatis occidi.*

Martyr-
doom.

Iam sure yovv like not this, *Occidi*, for few perfect Calvinists, prooue perfect martyrs.

Valentius, decreed to banish *Ensebins* from *Samosata*; the people resisted, but *Ensebins* appeased the sedition, dissuaded the people, and obeyed the decree. *Theodoret* l. 4. cap. 14. *Valentinian*, sent *Calligonius* his chamberlain, to threaten S. Ambrose, and terrifie hym, from his opinions, by the name

me of deathe and torments. he ded answer in an other tune, *Deus permittat tibi, ut impleas quod minaris. Ego patiar, quod est Episcopus facies, quod Spadonis.*

Chriit hym self, resisted not: but commanded Peter to put vp his sword: it was no proper vweapon to defend his quatrel. Daniel and the Children of Israel; Captiues in *Babylon*: when the king commanded them to Idololatrize, they resisted not, they reuled not, they ded not offer to spit in his face, (as Caluin brauelie defended they might.) but refusing his command, they layd them selfs at his feet, to endure his pleasure.

But to touch yow a liel, nearer. I need alledg no other authors then your own, either to condemn Wyat, or the subiects of Swetheland.

1. Doctor Bilson holdeth it, as an articl of off faith, that Princes ar not to be deposed: and that the Apostles endured the magistrates pleasure, but performed not his command: and how much he condemned, war against Princes; his opinion haith taught me; that he who may fight may kill, and to fight with the Princ and murder hym, be of ineuitable consequenc.

2. Besides, maister Beza, some tymes (when he was not transported with passion) affirmed.

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med. *Nullum remedium proponitur hominibus tyranno subiectis, preter preces & lachrimas.*
 Parson whytes own argument against the
 fathers of the Catholick religion; (that
 they teach nothing but treason, to murder
 Princes, and to disturb states:) I must re-
 flect vpon them, that either defend wyats
 rebellion, or the fact of the Svvecians.
 What need I alledg, L. Baylie, Ormerode,
 or suke like men: *di maiorum gentium*,
 all your greatest Doctors, haue wiselie and
 needfullie, defended that position for 30.
 yeares. And yf it wear trew, iust, and law-
 full in the raig of Quen Elizabeth: I see
 no reason, why it should not be so taken
 in Quene Maries case? for the differenc of
 Religion, doth not alter the authoritie and
 power of Iurisdiction.

And yf Princes should for feit ther
 authoritie, when they err in faith. Then
 who should taik the forfeiture thereof?
 and who should be iudg whether he haith
 forfeited yt? I know yow ar not so gross,
 as to think the people maye, (that is an
 opinion generallie reiected:) nor that
 officers share authoritie with the king;
 that is also cast owt of the schools.

Xiphilin, in the lyfe of M. Anto-
 nius, saith, *Solus Deus, index Principum.*
 Belloy, in his Apologie Cathol. part. 2.
 Ora.

Orationibus pugnandum, armes against Princes haue no warrant. *Quis est iudex*, si Rex transgreditur conditiones regni? Solus Deus. 21. and how farr we ought to obey princes, and *Quatenus*: see saint Augustin serm. de verbis Domini in *Matth.* And common reason will and may teach euery man the misterie of this thesis. For the king, is *anima corporis*, *spiritus vitalis*, *caput membrorum*, *vinculum per quod cohaeret respublica*: sine quo nihil respublica in aeternum, nisi onus & praeda, si mens illa Imperij detrahatur. This was Senecas opinion, and a sound proposition. for yf the fowle offend the bodie, the bodie can not punish it without participating of the punishment: neither is it a proper facultie of the bodie, to iudge. but of the fowle, and understanding. Examine, what the law meaneth, by *bodie polutick*; and yow shall better discern, all my growndwork.

It is a dignitie Royal annexed to the naturall bodie, wherby he is mayd Lord Paramount, and is not surnamed as others are, but stiled by the name of the bodie politick declaring his function, as *Iacobus Rex*. and to shew the nature, qualitie maiestie and prerogative of that bodie, 1. It can not hold lands in ioyntenance, (nor endure a partner:) 2. it can not be seized

to vses, (and so limited :) 3. it is not bovvnd to geue luerie and season of lands, (nor tyed to the circumstances of a naturall bodie :) 4. it can not doe homage hauing no superior: 5. and that bodie is so precious, as the imagination onelie to compasse his death is treason, (tho ther be no attempt.) 6. and that bodie vested in a blood, ought to discend: and tho the natural bodie be attainted of felonie or treason before, yet by access of this body politick, he may taik his inheritance, for that dignitie purgeth the blood, as it ded H. 7. and H. 4. (for this bodie was founded vvithout letters pattents, by the Common lawes, and for the defenc of the people.)

And yf criminal lawes can not disable the discent, it can less when it is discended. for the crown of England is independant (for his *iura regalia*) holden of no Lord, but the lord of heauen: so it can not escheat to anie being holden of none.

What then? from this fowntain is all authoritie, and honor deriued. Iudges are created, and haue ther commission to iudge from the king, for criminal and ciuil lawes: the Constable and marshals court for armes and honor: the Chancerie for equitie: the Checkor, for reuennues of the crown.

crown. So to conclude, the king giving, and appointing all iudges, who in his realme is to iudge hym? or to censure his counsellis of state, and politike temporall actions? and yf he be iudge, they ar without iudgment, that attribute it to the states; but they err most that arme the people vvith that authoritie. For tho I know, vvhat a parliement means; and what power it woorthilie carrieth: yet as it is euer summoned by the king; so ther acts must be iudged, allowed, and confirmed by the king, before they be lawes.

In the senate rests *consilium*: but in the king is the powie, and Maestie of the realme, and he is iudge to allow, or disallow what he liketh. and by the coniunction of thete, *Forskeru* sayd trewlie, no state is better tempered, nor more temperatelie gouerned: nor by more excellent municipall lawes, then England is.

So to conclude, what reason can be pretended for wyats insurrection against his sooueraign the bodie politick. was it for matching with Spayne? that was no straining motion, for her father had once before designed to match her in that familie. besides the conditions vvear honorable and profitable to the crowne (yf God should bless them vvith issevv:) the person most
noble;

noble; and the reasons allowed by all the counsel.

But the Quene ded not obserue the lawes of the realme, she abrogated the statutes of 1. E 6. (which all the kingdome approoued:) and the vvord of God by Moyfes commandeth, that Princes should obserue the lawes. and those Princes dishonor them selfs, who doe not acknowledg that of *Theodosius*, *tantum tibi licet, quantum per leges licet.*

Well, *aliud ex alio malum.* As Moyfes preteribed what a Prince should doe, so Samuel, what he may doe: Moyfes tould hym his dewtie, Samuel his power: and it is trevv, and a Christian profession of kings, *legibus se subiectos esse profiteri.* But yovv must consider, the lavv haith tvvvo properties, the one to shovv vvhat a man should doe: the other to punish them, that doe it not. To the first the king is subiect; but touching the second, for criminal cavvses; I knowv no court, about the kings bench, nor no iudg about the king.

Moreover yf Quene Marie should betyed to her brothers lavves: vvhy vvas not Quene Elizabeth to hers? vvhy vvas not king Edvvard to his fathers lavves? but that religion of Quene Marie vvas corrupt, vnpure and superstitious. so still hear is

S

phi-

philautia and presumption, yow will censure your iudg; and yovv (a lay man) vvil iudg, of his religion. that is the Quæstion yet, and not decided by anie orderlie Councels, or Synodes on yovvr part. and S. Austen, *libro vbi supra*, *Si vir iustus sub rege sacrilego militet, iuste posset illo iubente bellare: 1. ciuica pacis ordinem seruans: 2. cui quod iubetur, vel non esse contra Dei præceptum certum est, vel utrum sit, certum non est.* Tho the king be sacrilegious, yet he is to be obeyed; and hovv 1. *ciuica pacis ordinem seruans*, (that is the course, and that is the end, for *indivisa bona sunt pax & libertas*; vvhich is to be noted for them that plead so stronglie for ther liberties:) *secundo*, yf the kings commandements be not directlie against Gods vvords, yf *vel non esse certum est; vel utrum sit, certum non est.* Now tho all Catholicks, knevv the *certum est*, in ther conscienc: yet the protestants, for the *utrum sit*, vwear vncertan, bycause both the lavv of the realme, the general counsels, the vvhole state of the Churchie Militant, vvas against them; and they had onelie the testimonie of priuate spirits, to oppose against publick authoritie. But, vvhat yf Quene Marie had erred in some superstitions; vvhat yf the present king ded err in his gouernement, in his courses, in his iudgment,

iudgment, or in matching his sonn, without the consent of the realme: should either of them, be censured or excommunicated by the ministers; or deprived, or committed and emprisoned by a *vvar*.

Salomon, ded fall into greauous finnes, *ad profundum idolatrie lapsus atque demersus* (saith S. Austen:) and ded directlie against Gods commandement, (to keap and marrie straing wœmen of the gentiles) *non ingrediemini ad illos*: besides, he worshipped Moloch, and Astarthes (the goddess of the Sydonians.) yet neither Preatsts, nor people ded rise against hym, or depose hym: they left it to the proper iudg of kings, who in his wrathe ded appoint and raise vp Hieroboam to ruine his sonn: and yf Wyat could haue showd such an immediat warrant, he had bean excusable.

Iulian prooued an Apostata: yet tho the Doctors of the primatiue Church, as G. Nazianzen and others, sharply reprocued, and detested his impietie: yet they never perswaded nor taught the people to depriue hym.

He that proclaymed the prerogatiue of kings, *vos estis dij*: he taught the world, that as Gods haue *summum imperium*; so the people ar to obey, and therfor called *subditi*, for ther subiection. and yow neuer

hard of anie but Gyants, that wear fayned to fight with the Gods; and they perished, for all ther greatnes: for that hand must needs vvither, vvwhich toucheth Gods anoynted: for he that taiks armes against hym, doth prouoke the king to the feald: and when the flame rageth, who can tell whear the sparks will light. Some limitations ther ar: and those neadfull. For I ascribe not: an infinite, vnlimited diuinitie to kings, nor a powr to tyrannize, and liue as atheists: he that gaue them that glorie, *vos estis dij*: ded likewise geue them, this caueat that for iniquitie and impietie, *transferam regna de gente in gentem*. He is the Iudg of Princes, and his *audat* is dreadfull; and to that we must leaue them.

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THE SECOND PART.

HIERVSALEM, THAT OBEDIENCE, AND ORDER, BE THE EIRENARCHÆ OF CATHOLIQVES.



AVING allreadie trew- *King Hen-*
lie, and liuelie Drawen *the*
and presented vnto yow *right.*
the Image of the Churches called Reformed,
vvith a face so full of
frownes and stearnnes,

that by the Phisiognomie yow may iudge it,
vnquiet and turbulent: It remaineth in like
sort to paynt owt vnto yow, the portraictu-
re, of a Roman Catholick, by the infalli-
ble characters of *denotion, order, obedience,*
and the *humilitie* of the professors thereof.

What they weare in this land, in the tyme of king *Lucius*, and the Britons, I shall not need to expresse: but refer yow, to the ecclesiasticall stories of that tyme: vvhich euen *Fox* and the *Centuries* doe honor: labouring rather, to commend them, as members of ther ovvn Churchie, then to acknowledg them ours.

For the tyme of the *Saxons*, I will make no relation of ther vertues, and how amiable the Church and common welthe ded spring vp together. And though the prelates vvear highlie reuerēced, and ded beare great swaye in the state; yet how dewtiefullie they obeyed ther princes: *Venerable Beda*, and the stories of that tyme. *M. Lamberts Archaionomia*, the old Saxon Lawes, and the monuments yet vpon record, can vvitnes and testifie.

From king *Edward the Confessor*, Down to king *Henry*, the VIII. ther is no man so blind, that will affirme ther was anie other religion, professed and priuiledged in England, but that which vvas planted heare by *Gregorius Magnus*; who as *D. whitacher* noteth l. 5: *contra Duranum*, pag: 394. ded vsa great benefit, and vvhich vve ar euer most gratefullie to remember.

In all vvhich tyme, though the Cleargie mayd Canons, by ther ovvn authoritie, for ther

ther ovvn particuler government: yet the kings of this realme, ded euer synd them obedient, and readie, humble and dewtifulle to obey them, and to affoord ther best assistance, to support the estate Royal (euen oft when they weare much troden vpon, and heauilie burdened,) and albeyt sometymes, they weare forced to whote contentions, for external matters of iurisdiction, and ther immunities, (as the commons and Barons weare:) yet they neuer passed the rules of order and obedienc, nor stirred vp sedition, or commotions. And who soeuer shall obiect, and call in question, the opposition of some prelates vnder *Henrie the II. King Iohn, and Henrie the III.* shall neither doe great honor to the kings, nor dishonor to the Churchmen, for ther zealous defenc of ther immunities: and perhaps he may reuiue such matters, as wear more conuenient, to be buried in the records.

But the first king, that euer gaue effectuallie cawse in this kingdome, to trie in the face of the vworld, the admirable pacienc, Order, and loyaltie of the Catholiques, was King *Henrie the VIII.* (*flagellum Dei*, to the Church of England, and yet of ther own religion.) First, by accusing the Cleargie, to be fallen into the danger of a

premunire, for maintaining *Cardinal Wolfe*'s legantine power: Secondlie by the Statute of *Supremacie*: Thirdlie by the Suppression of Abbies. Which wear the three first breaches; wherby he threw Down, the foundation, strength, and glorie of the Church of England. The first leuelled the waye, for the second: and the second enabled hym with power and authoritie, to compasse the thurd. The first was a burden, the second a bridle, and the third a terror.

By the first, he fownd ther weakenes: by the second, they perceaued his greatnes: and by the third, he mayd them dispayre, of anie recouerie or reparation of ther estate. by the first onelic the Cleargie smarted: the second laye heauie both vpon the spirituall, and temporall: by the third, the whole realme was again in a sort conquered.

And all this was doon, to be reuenged against the Pope, (touching his marriage) to abandon his iurisdiction, and to aduance his ovn greatenes, and royall power: that so no man might afterward controll his actions, or restrain his appetites (which lawleshe ranged, in hym and prooued verrie inordinate.) And ther for he bard owte of the realme, all forrein power: and at home, he subdued them, and mayd them of no power.

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Such is the imperious nature of domination in irregular mynds, which hauing once broken owt of his circle, can not indure limitation and bownds, but must and will rainge at libertie, in the wyde and wild feald of his humors; and not being able to geue law to his appetites: vwill maik lawes as champions to authorise them, and reason (as a parasite) to glorifie them.

Now to examin all these thre. The first was a quarrell; he ded pick onlie against *(Cardinal Wolfe)*; and yet afterwards sett vpon the tentors, and extended against the vvhole cleargie. which being summoned into the kings bench, the kings learned counsell, vrged and exaggerated the matter, so vehementlie: that in the Conuocation howse, they concluded to submit themselves, to his pleasure. and to obtain ther pardon, and recouer his fauor, they wear content to offer and present vnto hym a hundred thowfand pownds: wherevpon ther Pardon was signed by the king, and confirmed by parliament. and by a deuise there, they wear also Drawen, to acknowledge hym supreme head.

This vvas a course, at that tyme thought neither agreable to Iustice, nor honor: for Cardinal Wolfe, had the kings licens vnder his hand, and the great scale of England,

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for his vvarrant to vse the legantine power, and afterward by reason thereof, the king hym self employed hym to exercise the same, and sit vvith *Campegius*, and examin the matter. And yf the diuorce had bean allowed: ther should neuer haue bean question mayd, of the legantine powre.

2.
The Supre-
macie.

Touching the *Supremacie*, All the kings subiects euer acknowledged, that the crown of England, *quoad temporalia*, is independant of anie other povver, but that great and Transcendent Maiestie, vvho proclaimed to the vvorld, *Per me reges regnant*; that kings knowving, vvho vvill taik ther audit, may be more carefull to rule with Iustice and keape ther accoumpts streig^h, and subiects, knowving there tye, and vvho layd vpon ther necks this *suave iugum*, and withoutt encroachment, may obeye with more loyaltie and affection.

The Question, which king Harrie mayd (first of all kings, in his parliament,) concerneth his povver and iurisdiction *quoad spiritalia*. And whether that new and highe prerogative, vvear euer properlie and essentiallie inuested in the crowvn of this realme heartofore: or whether it wear the creation of a new right by parliament, *iure Corona*, or the establishment of an old.

And hearupon groweth an other question

stion (now both in England , and other kingdomes so much debated,) vvwhether the Controuersie for Supremacie *in spiritualibus*, be a quæstion onelie proper to Religion, and so subiect to the sentenc and censure of the Church onelie (as etamong the Romans it yvas to the *Collegium Augurum*, and *Pontifex Max.*) or proper to Politic and the state onelie, and so subiect, to the iudgment of lawe: or Mixt, and a partciple, vvwhether of either of them may hold plea.

Of both these, I shall haue fitter both Occasion for the matter; and Opportunitie for the tyme, to declare my poore opinion, in my discourses vpon the Ecclesiastical Historie.

And for the suppression of the Abbies; the Cleargie (by that fact, and the supremacy,) stood as in captiuitie, and at the kings pleasure and mercie: ther possessions wear seized, ther goods forfeited, ther Churches prophaned and sacked. And the *augmentation comyt* was erected, vpon the (spoyles of the Church, and the sale of ther mooueables, vestiments, challices, bells, and all. for when the king fownd, that the Cleargie (thorough the humilitie of ther zeale) yealded so much vnto hym: he never thought, he had power sufficient, till he had more then enoughe. and vpon that aduan-

3.
*The Suppres-
sion of Ab-
bies.*

aduantage, his conscienc being enlarged; broke owt of those ancient bownds which the lawes of the Church had prescribed to hym.

Therfor anno 27. he appointed Cromwel and Doctor Leigh, to visite the Abbies; and by vertue of the kings commision, (which had then a chymical powre to make facultledge, vertue) they took owt of the Monasteries ther cheafest Iewels, plate, and Reliques, to the kings vse. and dismissed all such religious persons, vnder the age of 24. yeares, as desyred to walk at libertie in the wyde world, and were wearie of Cloysters and spiritual exercises.

Anno 28. to loose no tyme: all small religious howses of or vnder 200. povvnds *per annum*, with all ther lands and hareditaments (of vvhich there vveare 376.) vwear giuen to the king by parliement: and these vwear able to dispend aboue 1200. povvnds *per annum*, of old rents of Assise. and the mooueables of these howses (being sovvld at vnder valew) amounted to aboue 100. thovvsand povvnds.

The religious, and ther dependants, vwear all voyded, and left vnprovided of habitation: so as moe, then ten thovvsand persons, vwear turned ovvt of ther own doores, to seek ther fortunes. Which mooved

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ued the common people to much compassion: to see them forced to liue by almes, vvho by ther bountieful hospitalitie, had releaued so manie.

Anno 30. Battel Abbie in Suffex: Martin, in Surrie: Stratford in Essex: Lewes in Suffex, wear suppressed, and converted to the kings benefit and vse, (for all things wear doon politiquelie, and by degrees.) At last, anno 32. and 33. generallie all other monasteries, of what valew soeuer: and all the lands of S. Iohns of Hierusalem, wear giuen to the king, and the corporation of the knights was dissolued, (and to satisfie them with some contentment, they had pensions distributed among them, of 2870. pownds, during ther liues.

So hear was left in England and Ireland, no care of the general good of the Church to maintain anie succors, assistanc, or fortification of Europe against the Turk; nor no nurceries of deuotion, and prayer, against sinn, and the deuel. And to conclude, all Chantries, Colledges, and Hospitalls for the releafe of the poore: vwear offred and bestowed vpon the king, and left to his order and disposing, anno 37.

The valew of all the Church lands in England, at that tyme, amounted to aboue 320180. pownds, 10. *per annum*. whearof
the

the king took into his own possession, and appropriated to the crown, 161100. *per annu.* The which was so great a bootie, that an offer was mayd once in the parlement, as Howse reporteth, in preface to H. 8.) to create and maintain with those reuenues, fortie Earles, 60. Barons, 3000. knights, and 40. thousand soldiers: and also, that so the Commons should never after be charged, with anie more subsidies or impositions.

The like motion and proiect was commended and offred, at the *lay mans parlement*, in the tyme of king Henrie the fourth, by some that loued Wicel better then the Church, and wear better frends to ther lands, then to ther Religion. but Thomas Arondel Archbushop of Canturburie, ded stowtie and vertuousslie resist ther motion; and preuayled with the king, to preuent there platts, and the mallice of auarice.

*The Cause
for of the
Suppression.*

The Lutherans in England, ded reuiue, and set on foot again the same motion, by ther book called *the supplication of Beggars*: vvhich was opposed by the *supplication of Soules*, endited by the vertuous and learned penn of Syr Thomas Moor.) yet at last, they fownd a patrone, an vnworthie Thomas of Cantorburie, to geue waye to ther

ther deuises, and to feed the kings humor. and so, he vvho should haue beān the cheafe protector and intercessor for the Cleargie, prooued the Cheafe Cateline that betrayed the Church, and conspired ther oppression.

Add to this, the kings own inclination to vayn-glorie, which begot his auarice: vvhoſe prodigal expences, could not be maintained vvithovv such extraordinarie support.

And think yow, that the Lords and courtiers disliked the proposition? no, they knew what a rich praye it would prooue, (wheatof each man hoped and thirsted, to haue a share, and speciallic maister Cromwel, who knew no better ladder to climbe to greatnes and welth, then by an innovation so full of spoyle (wheatby one might easilierise, by the fall of so manie:) who being a man of experienc, and bred vp in a forge, knew the better which way to hammer and frame his busienes, in some good forme, that the king might vndertake the action, and stand stowthe to a matter of his domination and profite, (knowing well that his conscience was all readie buried in Ann Boolens tomb.)

And to maik: the waye playner, and remooue all blocks: the thre principall Abbots

bots, Glastenburie, Reading, and Burie, thre Barons of the parliament, stowe and religious men, and likest to crosse and empeach these practises: wear executed for denijng the supremacie, bothe to discourage the Bushops from mediating for them: and to terrifie the rest of the religious, that they might not withstand the king, who was now armed with sufficient povvre to bring them vpon ther knees (all torren intercession being cut of.)

*The title of
the rela-
gious how
far.*

But *quo iure, quomodo*, vvas this suppression compassed? The Abbies hold these lands in frank *Almome*, and in fee: they vwear possessed of them by the donations, of Saxon, English, and Norman kings and subiects: continued legallie by prescription, established by lavv, and confirmed by the Charters of kings: and so they held ther inheritanc, and immunities, by the same, lavves, the temporall Lords hold ther Baronnies, and the king his reuennues. what need I remember the Charters of the realme: the *magna charta* 9. H. 3. or the confirmation thereof 18. Ed. 1. vvhether it is granted, that the Church of England shall be free, and haue her liberties inuolable. and cap. 2. iudgment against them shall be held for naught. and 4 Bushops vwear authorized to excommunicate those, that shall

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shall seek to vndoe ther charters. And .i. E.
 1. the Bushops ded accurse those, that at-
 tempted to spoyle the Church, or by force
 and craft to diminish ther liberties or the
 charter of the realme; and all those that
 either should maik statutes, or obserue
 them being mayd, against the sayd liber-
 ties. for (which is to be noted) by one and
 the same Charter, both the Church, and
 all the subiects hold ther liberties: so as
 king H. 8. might as well break the one,
 as vndoe the other: and yf the parliement
 could geue powre to abrogate the one, that
 is a president to dispence with the other.

But in Peterborow Ledgerbook, you
 shall fynd king Iohns grants, more at large
 and fullier then anie printed book setteth
 down. what need I remember, *sententia*
lata super confirmatione cartarum, by E. 1. or
 42. Ed. 3. cap. 8. yf anie statut be mayd
 contrarie to *magna charta*, it shall be voyd.

Or the confirmation of all these, 1. 6. 7.
 8. of R. 2. and 4. H. 4. which all wear
 intended, to preuent tyrannie, to secure
 the Church then being, visiblie kno-
 wen, and generallie reuerenced (for to no
 other Church they wear granted: nor no
 other can enioye thē, yf the king so please.)

But to return, to the suppression. The
 king, to maik his title, either to be, or to

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appear

2^d h. *supra*
capitulum.

appear stronger, (to which he had no title of hym self, but by parliement; and how farr that powre is extended to geue awaye the lands of a third parson, not being hard, nor convicted orderlie for some offences, is an other quzstion.) he procured an act, 31. H. 8. whearby it is expressed, that sine the former act of 27. H. 8. the religious howses, voluntarilie, and of ther own good wills, and withowt constraint, by course of law, and writings of record, vnder ther Couentseals: haue giuen and confirmed to the king, ther lands, howses, and right: haue forsaken, and left them all to the king. And to this statut they ar sayd to consent, as to an act at ther own suite. whearupon yow shall fynd, emong the records of the augmentation court, a great Chest full of particular surrendors, by the Abbots, and Couents vnder ther hands and seales: the which yf yow ded see, yow will admire the art of the *ls. Cromwel*, and the obedienc and simplitie of these poor oppressed men.

And is not this a likelie tale? that ovt of ther bowntie, voluntarilie, they vould renounce ther liuings, and turn beggars? in dead to so gracious a Prince it was no matuel. I ded once my self vpon Salestburie playne, deliuer my purse, when I could not keape it: and commended ther humani-

tie,

tie, tho I could not praise ther honestie.

Now yf yow please to examin and consider vnpartiallie: yow will fynd, that this great Conquest, this augmentation of reuennue and Threafor: both by law and religion, was a Robberie and pillage of the Church, and a sacrilege inexcusable. and it was not for noching that Luther sayd, *inducunt animum ideo Deum dedisse nobis Evangelium, eosque ex carcere Pontificio expediuisse; et possent ipsi anarum suarum litare.* (The which might fittest be applied to king H. and from the which, manie and fearfull examples might haue dissuaded hym, and discouraged his agents and instruments; yf God had not hardned ther harts, and sealed vp ther eyes: and so as fevv of them prospered, to see *tertium heredem, beatum.*)

Marcus Crassus robbed the temple of Hierusalem: and note his end and disalter. *Ioseph lib. 18. c. 8.* Herod opened king Dauids sepulcher, and took the spoyle therof: and vwhat miserie afterward ded he fall into? *Iosephus lib. 16. c. 11.*

Vtraca, went to robb the chappel of S. Ilodote in Spayne; to defraye the expenc and charge of his wartes; and his guttes burst out of his bellie in the Church porch. *Histoire general of Spayn, part. 4.*

Leo the 4. Emperor, took a most pre-

Examples
of sacrileg.

tious crown ow't of the Church of S. Sophia in Constantinople, which was dedicated to it: and he dyed of a carbuncle. Sigonius l. 1. *de regno ita*.) Gondericus king of the Vandalls, when he took Siuil, took also the spoyle of the Churches, and seized vpon the riches thereof: and to requite hym, the Deuel Seazed and possessed hym. *Tarapha in Honorio*. What need I seak moe examples of terror, king Henrie is dead? they come to late; but not to admonishe others. What punishment had Iulian the Apostata, emong his other sinnes, for his Church-robbing at Antioche? *Tripartite lib. 6. cap. 31.* what miserie fell vpon *Heliodorus* for the lyke? 2. *Maccab. c. 3.* To conclude, read the historie of *Nicephorus Phocas* (a parallel to Match H. 8.) He resumed all Donations granted to Monasteries and Churches; and see what afflictions and furies haunted hym euer after. and therfor his successor Basilius, abrogated that law of Phocas for the suppressing of Monasteries, as the roote of all the calamities, that happened in that tyme.

He is desperate, that is not moued to fear (by such examples of terror) to tempt God, with the like attempts. I will not applie these to k. H. 8. tho I might truely affirme, that wrastring (as it vveare)

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with God and his Church: not vnlike Herod, he liued iealous of his wiues, and not confident of his friends: his lusts wear mayd his torments; and after his diuorce from his first and lawfull wyfe, as in reueng of his lasciuiousnes (the original of all Englands calamitie:) no vvyfe could please hym long: few of them could get a protection for ther heads: and none of them liued secure and ioyefull.

And which is most to be noted, as yf God would show his indignation, and with his hand write vpon the wall, *Mane, Thekel, Phares*, as his iudgment against hym: all his hopefull and glorious stemm and brainches wear quicklie cutt of, withowt anie issevv, and that pittiefullie, and lamentable: and the crown and scepter vvas translated, to an other name and nation, quite contrarie to his intentions, and the proiects both of his vvill and statute.

And for his actions, God suffred hym as a blind man, to err in his ends, and vvannder in his course: all this great purchase vvas neither employed to the honor of the realme, nor to ease the subiects, nor to encrease learuig, nor to mantaine soldiers and men decayed, nor to releaue the poor: all vvas vvaisted in tiltings, triumphs, enriching and pleasing his mistresses, and

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the solicitors of his lusts : Boolein, and prodigallie consumed all ; and to make an end, he can bragge of no other monument he haith left to record his memorie, but the same which he left, vvhio boasted of burning Dianas temple.

And touching his agents Wolfe, and Cromwell, the maister, and the seruants the instruments, and moouers of this great vvhale : vvhien they had acted their parts ; they vvear both by hym self cast off the stage vvith contempt and disgrace, and not vvithovv a brand left vpon their names and families.

What course vvould the Lutherans in Germanie, the Consistorians of France, or the Puritans of Scotland, haue taken : yf they had been plunged into such miserie ; remember their actions, and their violence ; and iudge of the tree by the fruite ; and then comparatiuelie look vpon the Image of the trevv Catholick Church, and mark the differenc of their visages, and vertues.

Though these Abbiess, vvear almost the third part of the realme : men of vnderstanding and povver : the reuennues great : their tennants, manie and rich : greatlie fauoured of the people for their hospitalitie and howsekeaping ; and highlie esteemed both of the nobiline and gentrie. And though

also

also the knights of S. Iohns of Hierusalem, wear in the same predicament, and by ther fraternities might haue procured great troubles and tumults, and the rather by the Popes assistanc, and the Emperor: yet to show to the world, what they wear in ther own likenes and proper colors, and to testifie the *patience of trevv Israe'lites*, the obedienc of trevv subiects, and the real imitation of ther maister, (who was apter to shedd his own blood, then to reuenge his wrongs) they resolved to endure Gods punishment, and the kings iniustice and rigor, and armed them selfs into the seald with teares and prayers, and took vp no other weapons, nor mayd no insurrections: not counterfeiting, as Beza in words preached patience, but in actions showed, furie, violence, and reueng. I vvill add this, and so end. that by ther suppression, tho manie wear enriched and the gentrie was encreased; yet the rents of lands weare enhanced, enclosures set a foot, depopulation generallie mayd, the price of all things raised and the Yeomanrie decayed infinitelie (which heartofore was the honor, and strenth of the kingdome: and so consequentlie it was the trew reason, vvhy all things haue continued so dear in this land, (vvhearin maister Stubs ded err not a liel.)

TITVLVS SECVNDVS.

K. EVV 6.

Hitherto Schisme raigned, but the second plague, was the ruine and wrack of the Church. for the authoritie and name of king Edward vvas vsed, to break down, and forcible subuert the vvhole Church of England. but see how craftie a Statesman the Deuel is: though the way to Anarchie and confusion was layd leuel by king Henrie, (who was onelie fitt for such a work, in regard of his greatenes, and crewell impietousnes:) yet he lett religion stand a while longer, knowing well that all could not be effected at once; but as he leduceth Sowles, so states by degrees: and being also confident, that the forts of pietie and religion being razed, and the Church being brought vnder a laye supreme head; he might by a second hand easilie overthrow religion it self.

King Henrie at his Deathe, appointed by his will sixteen Executors, who during the minoritie of his sonne, should be his aydors and counsellors, for the better gouerning the realme. Emong whome One, and who mayd hym self the Principal, vvas the lord Edward Seamor; Earl of Hartford

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ford (who took vpon hym, being the kings vnkle, to be protector:) and that was as good as a dispensation (as he took it) for his executor ship, and lifted hym too manie degrees higher then his fellowes, which king Henrie neuer intended, that he might ouer-rule the rest, by his title, and supereminencie. One of the first things of importance, he contriued and compassed, was innouation, and the establishing of a new religion: not so much for deuotion, as because he knew that nothing could quench his thirst so well as a change, and bring the game he hunted after into the toyles. and hear of Cranmor, was a principal worker, (tho he was but a few moneths before, of king Henries religion, and a patrone of the six articles.) The better, both to perswade the people, and geue harting and strength to ther sect: *Peter Martyr*, and *Bucer* wear sent for owt of Germanie, (vpon whose fame, and learning, as vpon two great Arches, they might build and raise ther Church (tho) bothe vwear Apostates.

By Cranmor, Ridlie, Lattimor, and these two Rabbins, was the new Liturgie framed, and the old banished; these wear the authors of the first Alteration of religion, (vvhich so manie hundred yeares, had

had beane heare professed and continued
 vvith all dew reuerence.) So povvretull
 vvasthe Protector, (by vsing the king na-
 me, a child then but of 9. years old.) but
 he was well seconded, by the Duke of Nor-
 thumberland, the Admirall, and the Mar-
 ques of Northampton (all affected, or sear-
 ming affected, to the chaing of religion:)
 vvho ouer-ruled all, that maydanie showe
 of opposition, or dislike of ther procea-
 dings. Which was verrie strange conside-
 ring, therewear so manie vvise and emi-
 nent men, who had æqual authoritie with
 them both, as Counsellors and executors:
 and vvear most different in religion from
 them, as the lord Priuie seal, the lord
Saint Iohn of Basing, *Bishop Tenistal*, *Syr An-
 tonie Brown*, and (the wise secretarie,) *Syr
 VV. Paget*: and speciallie that noble Chan-
 celour, (the lord Writheoslie, a man of ex-
 perience, knowledg, and prudenc, and a di-
 rector and pattern to his posteritie, to be
 prefetred before anie new guides.) but to
 content and please hym, he vvast created
 Earl of Sowth-Hampton; yet neither wou-
 so, nor contented, nor safe.

All things afterwarde grew to confusion,
 ther remained no face, and skarse the na-
 me of Catholick Church in England. and
 tho ther wear great multitudes of men well
 affected

affected to the old religion, and discontented, that the Church was driven into the wildernes, and forced to lye in corners: yet ded they show loyaltie, humilitie, and peace, and ded not taik armes and disobey that shadow of the king.

But what moued the realme, how wear men enchanted to embrace this religion, and applawd the authors of it? Noueltie euer pleaseth daintie stomachs, and auarice is no small temptation. at *Syracusa*, *Dionysius* the tyrant comming into the temple of Apollo, (full of sumptuous and goodlie ornaments:) and seing *Aesculapius* appareled with clothe of gould, and full of Iewels, hauing a long whyte siluer beard: and Apollo (the father,) carued, with a flourishing yowthful gould beard, and a playne cote of siluer. he gaue order, to shaue both Apollo and Aesculapius. for it was *indecorum*, that the sonne should haue a graye, and his father a read beard; and also vndecent, that a *Physician* should wear so rich a cote: so he ded not like that Apollo, should be drawn so gawdilie, and like a Barbaros: and a grauer gown (he sayd) would become a God better, (for gould and Iewels wear fitter for Princes then gods, fitter for pomp then perfection.

The Duke of Sommerfet ded rightlie

imitate

imitate Dionisius. for seeing the Church rich, remembering the exampl of his old maister, and hauing tasted at Aumesburie howe lyvveat a Morrell a Priorie is: he thought it not *decorum*, to see the Cleargie so rich, there vvealth vvas not suitable to ther calling: ther lands vvear given to noorish devotion, not to choke it: to stirr men vp to prayer, not to ease and luxurie; and therfor he vwould shaue and share vvith them.

Two Bushops howses he took in the Strand, which serued hym vvel to build Sommerset howse for Quene Ann.

He procured an act, vvhearby all Colledges, Chantries, free Chappels, Hospitals and fraternities, vvear suppressed, and giuen to the king. and howe greedilie he intruded into the Bushop of Bathe and vveils his howses and mannors: that Church can never forget. (and yet Bushop Bourn by his industrie recovered some again; but nothing to the Spoyles. a poor releaf, rather to feed then to fatt a Bushop.)

Yet was he not satisfied. for shortlie after, contrarie to all law, against king Henries will, and against his own couenants (when he was mayd protector) he committed to the towr, the Lord Chancelor: he deposed Bushop Tonstal both from the Counsel, and his bushopricks (as too stac-
telic

telie a Seigniorie for a man of religion, and too daintie a bitt to be swallowed by the Church:) therfor he dissolued yt and brought it within the survey of the exchequer, and he never prospered after.) It was directlie against the law. 1. Edw. 3. cap. 2. that the lands of Bushops should be seized into the kings hands: and that his father by the aduise of euil counsellors commanded them to be seized withowt cause, but hereafter it should not be so.

Yet hear he set not downe his staff. he committed Gardiner the Bushop of Winchester: and after deprived hym. He dissolued Stoke Colledg: fleaced all Cathedral Churches, and committed infinite sacriledge (vvherto the Nonage of the king gaue opportunitie.) Neither ded he hunt after his praye, onelie among the Church liuings: for yf yow look in the Parhamant rolls, of that tyme, yow shall synd that (with a wolfs stomach) he ded seek to deuowre that most ancient and honorable Earldome of Oxford

In all this glorie; he was cut of for his sinnes; and arraigned and excused for acting so grosslie, the part of a Protector. And though he was badd enough, an other succeded much worse.

For now begon the tree of Dudlie. to
spread

spread out his brainches with glorie (vvhich could not be, except he vveare great:) now vvas the tyme for his common welth to flourish. and bycause he vvould not seeme to doe anie thing, but by Iustice: he begonn 1549. to vvrasell with Sommer set, till he gaue hym a fall.

First he proclaimed hym to be a man, that subuerted all lawes; and that he broke the orders of H. 8. appointed for his sonns good: that he kept a Cabbieners counsell, and hel esteamed the aduise of his fellowes: that he took vpon hym to be protector, expresse vpon conditions, to doe nothing in the kings affayres vvithout consent of the executors.

And vpon these and such like accusations, God stirred one of these reformers, to vvrack an other. Now vvas that shovved his iustice: so to seame religious, he caued the booke of common prayer, 1552. to be first published, for that religion he knew vvould best serue his turne, (vvhich vvas all readie now farr engaged in the plat to aduance his ovvn howse, by the ruine of his maisters.) and by that color, he discerned that he might best vvinn the Duke of suff. to hym.

And bycaus he supposed, the Lord Threasorer, vvas not vnlike to crosse hym:
he

he took order at the counſel table (vvhear he vſed to leaue his ſpectacles, yf he vvear ſoodainlie cald for vp to the king) to maik the ſame before his return, be ſo ſvveatlie anoynted and perfumed, that therby he loſt his noſe, and ſkaped nearlie vvith his lyfe, (and yet he liued to requite hym.) and for his better ſtrength vvile king Edward vvvas ſick, as yf all had bean fixed in a ſphear to mooue vvith hym, he cauved at Durham hovvſe his ſonn to be married to ladie Iane: the Earle of Pembrocks ſonn to the ladie Katharin: and the Earl of Huntingtons ſonn, to his ovvn daughter. and all vpon one daye, all to ſerve for one end: and to maik it impoſſible for apie to bayt the beare, hearafter. Then vvask ing Edward mayd away, by his means: and that potticarie who poyſond hym, for the horror of the offenc, and diſquietnes of his conſcienc, drowned hym ſelf. and the landres that waſhed his ſhirt, loſt the ſkinn of her fingers. ther be ſome yet living in the court that have ſean weeping eyes for it.

Yet was all ſo over shadowed vvith the name of religion; that not manie could diſcern the impietie. yf yow would ſee the oration, he mayd to the Lords (when he was to depart from the towr to go, towards Cambredg, and proclayme his daughter in
law

law Quene:) yow shall see how Raignard had gotten on a minister cloke, and mayd that his cawse, which he was furthest from.

Now consider thre things 1. for the men: vwear not they both, sitt instruments to encrease pietie and vertue, and to reforme a Church? vwear not they like men, to haue bean chosen by the spirit of God, for so godlie ends? and like to be labourers in the haruest of Christ? wear ther pietie, zeale, and charitie such; as became them vwell, and vwear suitable to reformers, to Iosias, and Ezechias? No, *nisi Dominus edificauerit ciuitatem*; they labor in vayne: he will geue them a fall, vvhether they purposed to taiketh rising. 2. For ther ends, both of them concurred in chainging religion; both of them lost ther heads; one of them vvas a butcher to an other: and both vnder their owne families, and hazarded ther frends. but for Dudlie as he ded ruine the king, so he endaingered the whole realme: and yet his end vvas a demonstration to the vworld, that all his ayme vvas ambition, and not religion (for either he dyed a Catholick, or certainly an Atheist.)

And as his ambition, so Sommersets auarice, vvas not vvithout his plagues. for his vweakenes vvas ouer mastered by a vvysse: his eldest sonn, was disinherited: he executed

executed his ovyen brother: he liued to see the loss of Bullen, the crowne and the realme ingaged in debts and vvents; confusion and commotions vvithin the realme, by ther ill government, and contempt vvithovt.

3. Novv consider the pacienc of the Prcasts and Prelates, vnder these Cormorants: they suffred all vvithovt resisting, or rebelling: and never prouoked the nobilitie to taik armes, hauing bean bredd in the school of vertue, to bear ther crosses vvith pacienc; and to affect rather the glorie of a Martyr, then the sword and fortune of a conqueror. And so I leaue them, till hea-
rafter.

TITVLVS TERTIVS.

THe last and greatest tempest, vvich *The* shooked the verie foundations of the *Elizabeth.* Church of England, and threatened the viter ruine and subuersion thereof, vvas rayted by Quene Elizabeth: who reniued the Protectors new religion, and reestablis-
hed it.

The vvich was effected, quicklie and quietlie, *sine sanguine & dolore*, and as M. Camden noteth well, *Christiano orbe mirante.* And surelie, it vvas a strainge alteration.

V

by cause

Camden.
annales.

bycause the Quene (during her sisters lyfe) daylie hard Masse, & *ad Romana religionem* *nonnam, sapius confiteretur*. Which is consonant to the report of Syr Francis Englefeald: that the ladie Elizabeth (being examined at Hatfeald, by Q. Maries commissioners,) layd to one of them, *is it not possible that the Quene will be perswaded, I am a Catholick?* and therupon she ded sweare and protest, that she was a Catholick.

And it aggreeth well with the Duke of Feria his letter to king Philip (yet extant to be seene;) vvherein he certified the king, that Q. Elizabeth ded profess and assure hym, that she beleaued the real presence, and that she vvas not like to make anie great alteration for the principall poynts of religion.

I need not relate, the like speeches vsed by her to Monsieur Lansack; seing manie honorable persons haue affirmed the same: and seing her external profession in publick, and her private chappell ded testifie, that either she was then sincere in dead, or vwould be taken then to be a Catholick. And that was the cause, which mayd the world maruell more, at her great and sudden chainge of religion.

And the rather, bycause at her coronation, she vvas orderlie consecrated, and anointed

anointed at a Masse, by the Bushop of Carlisle: and she took the oath then, to maintain the Church, and vphold the liberties thereof, as her predecessors had doone.

Which, withowt equiuocation, must needs be intended of that Church then being in *esse*, and whearin shewas consecrated, and took that oathe: and not of the Idea of a new Church (a castle in the Ayre, to be hereafter erected and fownded, by her authoritie and the Parliement.)

But how ever she was before perswaded; shewas now altered, and became too foodainlie Retrograde: and so, as in the opinion of manie prudent and great persons, it abated much the glorie of her wisdom and heroicall spirit: and gaue the world occasion to suspect that all her former actions wear counterfeit and composed for her securitie to temporize: and to misdowbt, that she was not innocent and cleare, of these great and capitall crymes layd to her charge (for vvhich, she had stood in no smal dainger.)

And to speak frelie and trewlie my opinion, she was a Prince of great Maiestie and magnificens, but fitter for gbuernement, then deuotion: and of more pollicie then religion: and not as her sister vvas, the same in a storme and a calme; a

Quene and a subiect, not *semper eadem*.

*How reli-
gion was
changed.*

But how, and by what means, ded she contriue and work, this admirable mutation of state: I vwill breafte declare: for tho it be not proper to my quæstion, it is not impertinent, and may be of some vse.

1. First the long sicknes of Q. Marie gaue her great aduantage, and tyme both to deliberate, and dravv her plattformes, prepare her instruments in readienes; make choyce of her means, and resolute of the fittest counsellors to aduance her ends.

2. Secondlie she layd her honor to pawne, and mayd protestation in open parliament, that she vwould never trouble the Roman Catholiques, for anie differencie in religion: which ded geue the Cleargie great hope, of some more indifferencie, and tolerable fauors. (the which is related by Hows in pefat. of Q. Elizabeth.) for knowing well, that a king can not create a new religion as D. Bilson sayd trewlie, (meaning that it must be the act and work of a parliament:) therfor to vwinne the Bushops, eicher to silence or patienc, she wiselie vsed that peace of art. The which thing vvas well noted by Monsieur de Mauuissier (vwho was long french Embassador in England, and a curious searcher and obseruer of matters of that nature:) saich he (lib. 2. pag. 61.

in

in *Les memoires de Monsieur Mich^e Castelnan.*)

Quene Elizabeth purposing to chainge religion, that she might the better vvinne the Bushops, she promised to follow ther aduises in all things, and therby preuayled not alittle. And though manie syne sleights wear vsed, frownes and fauors, promises and threats: yet notwithstanding by that parlement, both the statuts for the supremacie, and the abrogation of the old religion, vwear enacted.

3. Add also, that when the act vvas mayd for supremacie, (vvhich must ever be, as the first great vvhale of motion:) by cause, by king Henries lavv, Bushops and Barons stood in dainger (for Syr Thomas Moor, and Bushop Fisher had giuen them vvarning to look to ther heads.) therfor novv, in this nevv edition of the supremacie, first the vvords of *supreme head* vwear chainged into *supreme gouernor*; (vvhich qualification of the vvords being æquivalent, vvas vsed but as a mask and shadowve, to bleare the eyes of the people.) and secondlie the Barons and Lor is vwear exempted from the rigour of the Oath; to vvinne them the rather to consent, to the act; and so to leaue the Bushops in the briars, to beare the brunt of the storme ensewing.

4. I knowv yovv vvill admire, and yovv
V ; maye,

maye, how this change could be wrought in the vpper howse, by most voyces; considering, so manie Bushops, and so manie Lords vuell affected to religion, had ther suffrages there. Remember first, that king Henrie pulling downe the Abbies, weakened the strenth of the Cleargie; taking away by that meanes, twentie five voyces of Abbots, who satt there as Barons of Parliement, and besides, *Simon* (who managed thaa busiienes) showed all his conning ther in, and as a maister of his art. For the noble Earl of Arödel, (abused and fed with a vayne hope) by the ayd of the Duke Northfolk engrossed into his hands the *proxies*, and voyces of so manie Lords, to be disposed at his pleasure, and to serue and further the *Quenes* desyre and ends, that the Catholicks weat overswayed and born downe, by the pluralitie of six voyces onelie. And how God rewarded these two great Princes, (the instruments of that seruice;) the world may iudg, by ther afflictions as spirits that haunted them. (tho to expiat that fault, the religious and noble, Earl Philip, suffied the martyrdome of a languishing fowl.) A strainge, and memorable matter it was, to haue a nevv religion introduced, and no Bushop nor religious man, to consecrate and aduance it with one voyce. for the

the vehement oration of Abbot Fecknam against it, is fresh yet in memorie; and how all the Bushops, *obstinate refragari* (unt, Camden doth witnes. and that noble Lord Mountagew (sensible of the scandall thereof) opposed it vvithall his force, (vvho together vvith D. Thurlebie Bushop of Elye, had so latelie bean employed, at Roome abowt it;) and vrged that the vvould would disgrace fullie centure such a soodain chainge and innouation; proposing also the daingers which weare like to enlewe, and so ded by *excommunication*.

But for ther better assurance, to preuayle in the vpper howse, and more stronglie to ouer-rule the Bushops, and the Abbots: the Quene created diuers nev lords, *William* lord *Parr*, Marquis of *Northampton* (a good speaker, and a wise man:) the Earle of *Hartford*, the Vicount *Bindon*, the lord *Saint Iohn* of *Blesse*, and the lord *Essex*, (all Protestants and men fitt to build a new Church.)

And to be better armed: the Catholick partie was weakened, by discharging from the counsell table, manie of the old counsellors, the lord Chincelor, the lord Priuie seale, Secretarie *Boxall*, and Syr *Frances Englefeld*. and in ther roomes, wear placed Syr *Nicholas Bacon*, the Marques of

Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, S^r A. Caue, Syr Frances Knolls, Rogers, Parrie, and Secretarie Cicil, (all fitt men, to beare parts in that Pageant.) And further she depofed manie of the old Iudges: and mayd alio new Iuftices of peace: and gaue order to vie all vvarienes, in the election of knights and burgefles: that they mightlikewile maik ther partie good in the lower howfe (which yow would wnder to heare, how politicklie it was performed.)

Furthermore, to taik all scruple out of the heads, and harts of the people, and that they might conceaue, that the feruice and religion ftill continued, the fame theould was: but tranftated into Engliſhe onelie for ther better edification, and vnderftanding: they directed, that the alteration ſhould be framed as near to the old, as they might well doe.

And ſo it was in dead, verrie politiclie handled. For they bothe admitted and continued the title and iurifdiction of Buiſhops, (with ſome litt grace, and authoritie:) and they permitted the vſe of ſurplifes, ceremonies, anthems, Organs, and manie prayers in the forme of the old. Whearby the Quene, was the better able to excuſe her fact, to foirein princes, for this great change, as ſhe ded vſe the ſame for her rea-
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son to Secretarie d'Affonville, who was sent by king Philip to congratulate her advancement.

7. And touching the communion book, it was composed by certan commissioners appointed for that purpose, *Tarker, Grimdal, Horn, Voycehead, Mai, Bill*, and *Syr Thomas Smith*: and it was, mayd according to the liturgie of the straingers of Frankfort (1544.) all of them of Bucers stamp, and not much variing from that in king Edwards tyme. The which Parr, Russel, Grey of Pytgo, and Cicil approoued: but all thote of Geneva vtterlie disliked, (not knowing the Quenes reasons, nor regarding them.)

8. Lastlie, the instrumentall cawses, and cheafe artificers for building this new work, wear choyce men all bothe for experience and pollicie. *Syr william Cicill*, (mayd second Secretarie in king Edwards dayes, in an age whearin a man might learne more conning, them vertue.) a wise man for practise, and one that knew well, how much this alteration would serue his turn, and raise his fortune. and at that tyme he vvas hongrie, hauing onelie the personage of *Wimblton*, and certan lands about Stamford, (as appeared by his letter, to the lord Marques 1560. when *Syr Robert*

bert Cicil was borne ; desiring the lord
Threasorers furtheranc, that the Quene
would grant hym some means and mainte-
nanc, for these two C. C.) solike to be
famous in England herafter.

Syr Nicholas Bacon, was an other; his
brother in lawe, a man of Deap iudgment,
of more knowledg in the lawes, and a more
plausible Orator.

I may not forget the Lord Robert (who
solelie to posses the Quenes fauor, by a
trick discarded Syr Wiliā Pickering, then
a fauorite and a courtlie gentleman.) nei-
ther can I omitt Seigneur Nicholas Thro-
gmorton, S. Tho. Smith, and many others:
who wear now in hope to fynd that, which
they had long gaped for; such offices and
preferments, as they wear like to loose, who
held them in Quene Maries tyme.

Better Engineers, and fitter men, could
neither haue been wished nor found, then
all these vvear to vndermine and cast downe,
the Cleargie, and the old Church go-
uernement. vvhose possessing vvholie the
care and grace of the Quene, satt vwith
command at the stearne, and as pylots of
great estimation, guided the course both
of the Church and commonwelth at ther
pleasure, (thoughe manie men vvondered
hovv maister secretarie could so soone, for-
get

get his heads, and his breuiarie whearwith he connterfeited a Catholick, and vvon Cardinal Pool to stand firmelie his friend.) Notwith standing all this choyce of men, and preparation of meanes: ther courtes and counsells, gaue occasion of more trowbles, continual feares, and greater hazards and daingers to the Quene and the realme, in all her tyme: then ever anie architects of innouation committed.

And no marvel, for *ludic in hominis diuina potentia*, God doth skorn and frustrate the pollicies and shifts of men, that haue nothing els to trust to but shifts: and he vvil euer teach the wisest, to see ther follies; and (a litle to humble them,) those that are most prouident shall by ther errors learn, that *plus est in arte, quam in artifice.*

For now the Quene, (by this act of Innouation, left destitute of all her allies and confederates) was driuen to stand vpon her own gard, and lie open to all stormes: hauing France an enemy, and Spayne (a friend skarse contented.) and so was driuen euen at first, to runne vpon a rock, (forced to assist the rebels in Scotland against ther Souuerain) and to send them ayd to expell the french, employed ther for ther Quenes seruice.

It may be, yow think this a trifle: mark the

the rest. To succor the Admirall, and rebels in France: she Inuaded Normandie, and took possession of Newhauen and Deape, deliuered to her by the Vidame of Chartres. was this a glorie? the disgrace in loosing and ill defending Newhauen, was a greater blemish to them: then it was honor to haue them yealded and offered to the Quenes disposing. and speciallie, seing they might therby either haue brought *Calice* home againe; or haue locked vp the gates of Roan and Paris.

And they ded neither; but bring home the great plague, (as a scourge to the realme for that offence.) furthermore; for the securitie of the realme, and to diuert all warres from home, they wear driuen, (not withowt touch of the Quenes honor) to kindle the fyre, in all other adiacent nations; and then to publish a declaration and reason of ther actions (as yf the world could not read the trêw causes of actions, withowt the spectacles of those ancient Senators.) Whearupon they ded ayd the Prince of Orenge against king Philip, (vnder pretence of amitie and league with the howse of Burgondie, and the kings of England.) which was a litle to grosse for so excellent virtues; considering that the amitie was contracted with no subjects
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nor states, but between the kings of E. and the Dukes of Burgondie wheareof the states had the benefit, and wear partakers but not authors: comprehended in the treaties, but not traitors. sayre coolors, for fowle errors.

And why? for so she gaue a president against her self, that forrein Princes might be varranted by her example to inuade her ovvn kingdomes, to releaue her subiects yf they should rise for religion, and to learn the waye to Ireland and requite her.

And, the shewe of Religion, serued them fitlie for there purpose. But surelie, I haue hard verrie wise men much condemn the course.

For though England ded assist there neighbors on all sides, vpon the reason of state which Polibius prescribed, *Vicini nimium crescentis potentia, mature quacunque ex causa depressenda*, (which is an axiome, that is oft inconuenient, and oft inuiurious, and sometymes pernicious.) Yet the counsell of Thucidides, vvas more proper and safer, *Nulius princeps a suis subditis misle puniendi arcens est: & quid facit, parum in se ligum statuit, ne suos & ipse puniat delinquentes.*

And heare I must commend hym to haue said this vvisele, who saith all things wittielie, *The vvisidome of the latter tymes*

in princes sayres, is rather in sine deliueries and shifring of dangers, vwhen they ar near: then solid and groundd courses to keap them aloof.

The grownd of all thete trowbles, was the pretenc of Simon, Viz. *scilicet esse de ea, si pontificiam authoritatem, in quacunque re agnosceret.* (as Camden saith:) the Quene vwear vndoone yf she acknowledged the Popes authoritie. Mark his reason, *dum nam, ne pontifices matrem illegitimè nuptam pronunciasse.* and by that argument, he ingested, that it was best to alter religion, inuest her self in the sooueraintie, and banish the Popes buils (from grasing in this kingdome) and all obedienc to that sea.

This was a course neither at home, nor a broad, to keap daingers aloofe. and vndowbtedlie, yf Henrie the 2. or Frances the 2. of France had liued: that error was like to haue wrapped the realme, into ineuitable perills: and might by all probabilitie haue serued as a bridg, to haue let the Quene of Scots passe over into England vnder her own title, and the banner of the Church. solliciting for her better warrant the rene- wing of the buils of Clement the 7. and Paulus 4. against her moothers marriage, and her own illegitimation. and the rather this might haue bean doon, by the error of them, that left open the port of aduanta-

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ge: having not repealed in England the act of her illegitimation, as Quene Maries counsell wiche had doone before.

But now at lenth, to returne to the matters proper and pertinent, to the question, I am to handle.

The Quene before her coronation, put all the Bushops to silence, and commanded they should not preache. and after the parliament, all those that refused the oath (being called before the Quenes commissioners,) wear deprived from all honors livings, or employmēt, either in the church or common welth: and wear also committed to prison, and so both lost ther liberties and living together. Dignities they could not loose, (as appeared by B. Bonners case, whome they could not degrade from the Dignitie of a Bushop, though he ded loose London.) There wear in all 14. Bushops, (most vertuous and learned prelates) of England, and 10. of Ireland deposed. 12. Deanes, 15. maisters of Colledges, 6. Abbots, 12. Archdeacons, 160. preasts, together with maister Shellie, Prior of S. Iohns of Hierusalem.

Now touching, ther Demeanor, and the course of ther proceeding before ther Deprivation. These Bushops sitting in Parliament at Quene Maries Deathe, acknowledged

ledged by diuers proclamations, Quene Elizabeths title, and right to the Crowne. And the Archbushop of york, D. Heath, then Chancellor of England, calling together the nobilitie and commons assembled, in both howses: by a graue oration exhorted them, to accept and obey Quene Elizabeth: and by the best course he could, endeauoured to dispose and sett the harts of subiects to loue and serue her.

And all the Bushops ioyntlie, ded ther homage and fealtie to her Maiestie in dewtifull manner. And although they vwear not ignorant of her determination to alter the course of religion: yet ded they neuer practise, neither Scotising nor Ceneuating: nor neuer incensed the people and Catholicks against her: nor attempted anie violent resistance: nor sought the support of forrein Princes, (whome they knew at that tyme, readie vpon so fayre pretence to haue ayded them.) but they ded so respect fullie, tender both the Quenes safetie, and the peace of the realme, more then their own liues, liberties, or liuings: that though diuers emong them, mayd a quæstion yt it wear not most conuenient for the good of the Churchie, to proceed to excommunication against her (to which her case laye verrie open, and subiect:) yet the most
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voyses dissuaded that covrte, least yf they should vse the sentenc and censures of the church against her, the people might be induced to take armes for the protection of religion. and therfor they ded advise rather to referr it to the popes determination and pleasure, then to take vpon them to doe yt them selfs, (though they thought they might lawfullie doe yt, as the case then ded stand.) Ther was also, an other secret friend, that ded much fortifie the state of the Quene. King Philip knowing all the plats of France, and ther secret intentions, and what motions they mayd at Roome, and vpon what rearmes they ded stand, to offend England: albeyt he had buried all offences at the treatie of Cambray, yet loath to see *France* growe so great as to haue footing in Engiand, and as loath that Religion should loose her howld and honor there: though he ded wish the end, he ded not like the meanes: and therfor he employed his ministers in England to doe good offices between the Quene and the Cleargie,

But Als, what became of all these graue prelates? Trewlie notwithstanding all ther publick disgraces, and priuate sufferings: they ded rather choose a *Durate*, then an *adimate*; and ever professed and well performed,

formed, *Preces & Lachrima, arma nostra.*

Obserue how long, and how heauilie
ther burden lay vpon them. *D. Scott* bishop
of *Chester* dyed at *Loowain* in exile. *Goldwell*
of *Asaph*, at *Roome*. *Pate* of *worcester*,
subscribed at the counsell of *Trent*, for the
Cleargie of England, and never returned.
D. Oglethorp of *Carlile*, dyed soodainlie
and shortlie after his deprivation; and so
ded learned and famous *Tonstal*, die a per-
sonner at *Lambeth*. *Bourn* of wells, was
prisonner to *Carie* deane of the Chappell:
Thirlebie of *Elie* first was committed to
the towre, and afterward he and secretarie
Boxal wear sent to *Lambeth* (whear they
ended there dayes.) *Abbot Fecl-nam*, *Bul-*
hop Watson, *Bushop Bonner* dyed priso-
ners and *Prior Shellie* in exile.

This was the Catastrophe of the worthe
Prelates of England, a tragedie of the
Downefall of the whole Cleargie. a thing
incredible to posteritie, and never hard of
in former ages: that the third and most re-
uerend state of the realm, the (*cedars* of *Li-*
banus, (who ever sinc king *Etheldred*, floo-
rished as the *Oakes* of a realme) should be
all at once cut downe, cast into disgrace,
and prisons, or exile, and liue without releaf
or comfort as men forlorne and abiects: yet
neither taynted for vice: nor convinced
for

for trespas : nor accused for anie treason, but that which they would never subscribe to acknow ledg treason, *the refusing the oath of supremacy* (a poynt of religion to them, and vvhich touched ther sovvles to the quick.) And wear they deprived for that? then surelie had the ministers of Geneva great luck to escape the high Commission, for yow shall hear ther opinions : and see the differenc of ther spirits.

1. Gilbee, in *admonitione ad Anglos*, calls king Henry the 8. *libidinosum monstrum*, & *monstrum aprum*, *qui Christi locum inuasit*, & *Ecclesia Anglicana caput dici voluit, cum tamen omnis religionis expertus esset*. This monstrous bore, must needs be called Head of the Church, vnder payn of Treason, displacing Christ our onelie head, who alone ought to haue the title. why ded he call hym bore? Partlie for his qualities, partlie for Ann Boolens sake, who was that Helena, *cum causa peribat Illum*, (as both Melancthon in his Chron. and G. Bellay in his Comment. declare.)

2. And that yowv may knowv, vvhath an heresie and flatterie of kings the school of Geneva, censurcth the Oath of supremacy to be : I pray yowv heare the Oracle, in cap 1. Ofce & in cap. 9. Amos; *Et loquitur* (siquit) *quam multi sunt in papatu, qui regibus*

accumulant, quicquid possunt iuris & potestatis (of this poynt I dare avowe Geneva is not guiltie :) *na ut ne quia fiat disputatio, sed potestas hac sit penes regem unum, ut statuat pro suo arbitrio, quicquid voluerit, & sine controversia hoc firmum maneat. Qui initio tantopere exsulerunt Henricum regem Anglia, certe fuerunt inconsiderati homines, dederunt illi summam rerum omnium potestatem, & hoc me semper grauitus vulnerauit: erant enim blasphemae, cum vocatus illum summum caput Ecclesia sub Christo. Ded Syr Thomas Moor, or Bushop Fisher say more? nay, not so much, against the matter: nor in so rude and violent manner. such vvas the violence of king Hêrie, that he pressed them to speak, and yf they ded speak they wear in dainger of law: yf they ded not speak, in danger of his wrathe. o miserable tyme, ubi tacere non licet, quid cuiquam licet?*

3. To this opinion Luther subscribeth; and (which is rare) they both C. and L. accord against the supremacie of Princes, in cawses Ecclesiastical. for tom. 2. fol. 259. saith Luther, *quid ad nos mandatum Principis Electoris Saxonie? Princeps, secularis est magistratus quem gladium, non munus predcandi, cura habere debet.* as yf a secular magistrate, had nothing to doe, vvith Cleargie busiuenes.

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And tom. 1. Latin, he expownds hym self fol. 540. *Non est regum aut principum, etiam veram doctrinam confirmare sed esubijci, & servire.* which is quite contrarie to the acts of parliement, either of H. 8. of E. 6. or Quene Elizabeth.

4. It may be, yow will Imagin that though Luther was so singuler, yet the Lutherans are not: but yow are deceaued, and that yow shall fynd, by ther greatest and most learned Champion.

M. Chemnicus, epist. ad elector. Brandenburg, first he sheweth, that it is not conuenient, *ut punitionis officium contra Calumnias, interea temporis penitus quiescat,* (which is to be noted, as a thing, he much regarded.) and shortlie after, of the religion, and the Quene of England, he giueth this sentence; that 1. no good thing is further to be expected of her: 2. that she vsed the Protestants of Germanie hardly: 3. that she nourisheth a new sect risen in her realm of Puritans: 4. and lastlie, he maiks it a least that she being a woeman, haith taken vpon her, to be maker of Ecclesiasticall Lawes, *& quod femineo & a seculis inaudito fastu, se Papissam, & caput Ecclesia fecit* these are his words, and surelie none of our Bushops depriued, could saye more, tho more manerlie. for the statut, consisting of two brain-

ches, the one they defend stowellie, that the king ought not to haue the supremacie: in the other they disagree among them selves.

5. Cartwright, haith written manie chapters in his last book against this supremacie: who yet was neuer conuented in the starchamber, nor arraigned for yt: neither was forced to recant his writings. The Puritans ar as earnest, as the Catholicks, that it ought not to rest in the king, but differenc is in whome the power should rest: vvhether by a monarchie, in the Pope; or in an oligarchie of the elders. The English Puritans of Amsterdam in their *Confessio fidei*, 1607. pag. 50. art. 2. ded resolve that *unicuique Ecclesie particulari, est par ac plenum ius ac potestas exercendi, fruendi, & exequendi, instituta omnia. quacunque Christus Ecclesie suae dedu observanda in perpetuum.* So then euerie parish-preast, is a pope in his parish, and haith *par & plenum ius* and whether this aduancement of the Consistories be not more preiudicial to princes, then the Conclage: more subiect to mutinies, more open to confusion and anarchie, I refer my self to learned Hooker.

6. I will conclude with D. whitacre, and that with some admiration (he Doth so boldlie affirm a matter, so notoriousle vn-

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trew pag. 4. against M. W. Raighnolds in his preface.) *The rule saith he of supreme head of the Church, hath been misliked by diuers godlie learned men and of right it belongeth to the sonne of god: and therfor neuer ded our Church, geue that title in such wvords, vnto the Prince; neither ded the prince euer challeng it. I vnderstand not what this meaneth: for yf he meane plainlie and withowt æquiuocating, then certanlie, he abuseth his reader with a fable. yf I obiekt the statut of 26. H. 8. c. 1. or 35. H. 8. c. 3. I know he will say, it was not our Church that gaue that title. But Syr, that will not serue yow, for 1. E. 6. cap. 12. yf anie person, after the 5. of March next, shall affirm, that the king his heys or successors, kings of this realme, is not or ought not to be supream head, in earth of the Church of England and Ireland, immediatlie vnder God: it shall be treason, for the third affirmation. so hear is the act of your own Church; for which Gardiner was sent to the towr: and these godlie men sc. Gilbie, Caluin, Knox, Luther who so much misliked it in king Henrie: had not cawse to like it better 1. Eliz. when it was chainged into supream gouernor, for the one had as much powre as the other.*

And surelie D. Whit. rather shiftech of
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the obiection, then answereth it. for theie godlie he meaneth, wear Calvin, Gilbie, the Lutherans, and his ancient frend maister Cartwright (who all condemned the vse of that title of supreme head.) and think yow that he ded hym self like it? I imagin, that he vvould not othervvise haue mayd so slie an euasion. for his cōmendation of the men that denied it: his own reason, deriued from ther vvords, (that it belonged onelie and properlie, to the sonne of God:) his table, that *neuer ded the Prince Challenge that title,*) show fullie the Doctors mynd, that he would not subscribe voluntarielie to that opinion and take the oath, and desyred to euade.

But vvhat euer his opinion vvvas of the matter; he commended those that most impugned it. Nowv to return to the Bushops. seing the supremacie and the oath, vvvas the main and the mean, obiected to deprive them (vvhich vvvas as much impugned by ther ovvn hail brethren, Lutherans and Calvinists, as by the Bushops) seing Cartwright, vvvas tolerated, licensed to preache, not restrained nor punished for his opinions: and seing so manie, and so eminent men, concurred vvith the Bushops in that opinion? (as I haue shovved:) ther vvvas and is some reason, to ha-

ue expected, yf not a more merciefull sentenc, yet a more fauourable execution of the sentenc: and seing they forvnd so liell fauor and releaf: it doth vvitnes to all posteritie, ther exceeding patiene, to taik vp ther cross and follovv ther maister.

For notwithstanding all this aduersitie, disgrace, wants, and loss of libertie, the magistrates never had cawle to complayne of anie inuectiues or libells. No *Renelle-matin*, no hometies of sedition wear dispersed: no *Vizay*, no *Oldcastel* appeared in the feald: the soldiers and knights of the Rhodes wear not detected of anie conspi- racie: the Realme was not disquieted nor embroyled.

A miraculous patiene, by a supernatural grace: they ded rather choole to suffer them selfs, then the realm should. which was a great happienes to England, and the like not hard of, (vpon so great a mutation of state:) and which was neither to be ascribed to the pollicie and prouidenc, of the Chancelor or Secretarie; nor anie feare of punishment, vvhich might be inflicted vpon the Bashops (for they could fall no lower, being all readie cast down to the grownd: and they, that could hope for nothing, need not feare anie thing:) but real- lie and trewlie, it was to be imputed to the nature,

nature, patienc, humilitie, and obedienc, innated in religious and vertuous men, who atrewlie Catholique.

These vertues, and this there patience, showeth well the nature of the English patients that suffer, and beare there croses, either within, or withowt the realme. withowt the realme, wear and arr the Seminaries of Preafts, religious men, and students. within the realme, at the *Recusants*, who daylie, taist of affliction, and have not a light or small burden to beare. who all suffer for ther conscienc; and *secundum magis, vel minus*, participate of the miseries, incident hear to Catholicks.

The Semi
naries.

Touching the Seminaries: when the ould Cleargie, and preasts wear some Languishing in prison, some in exile, manie dead, and all in disfauor: the Secretarie and some politick protestants, both hoped and promised that preasts and preasthood, would be shortlie worne owt, and extinguished (and in dead, abowt the year 1576. there wear not aboue 30. of the old preasts, remaining in the realme.) whearupon D. Allen, (a man-born to doe God seruice) and others of the Cleargie: owt of ther prouidence, and Charitie, begonn the Seminaries at Douay. 1569. and why? To preuent the decaye of religious pro-

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professors; to setle a continuanc and encren-
se of preasts (for the better propagation
of religion :) to preserve a visible and Ca-
tholick Church in England : and for the
instruction and trayning vp of yong schol-
lers, in a setled course of studie, conferen-
ce, and exercise : and so to bread in that
nurserie yong plants, continuallie fite to
be drawen owt, for employments in En-
gland: to vynn sowles, to instruct them
in cases of conscienc, and so spreide abroad
ther knowledg and vertues into all parts of
the land.

And that Seminarie vvas not erected
against lawe ; for the statute was mayd long
after, when they had taken deap roote: and
then was it too late, either to transplant
them home, or by threats and terror to
prohibit ther proceadings.

But these ar sayd to be, schooles and
harbours to noorish such men, as ar 1. base
and fugitiues : 2. such as corrupt the land
with false doctrine : 3. and such as ar mi-
nisters of practises, to disturb the kingdo-
me, to stirr vp rebellion ; and to with draw
the subiects from ther obedienc. And ther
for the proclamation 1580. and other sta-
tures wear iustlie mayd against them.

But how doe they answer it? In dead it
is tiew, that great Pronotharie and clark
of

1.
For their
basenes at
Douay and
3. Omers

of the execution of Iustice, objected so much against them. but for ther basenes; I haue obserued well, and am assured, that at Douay, ther be gentlemen both in the Colledg and monasterie, of as good families, as vuell bred, and as learned schollers, as I haue knowen in the vniuersities of England (whearin I was no strainger.) I will not compare them, (for so I might maik them odious:) nor yet will I detract from the milk of my own nurces; but I may trewlie avowe, that they ar so orderlie gouerned, as maikes ther demeanor ciuil, and *supra statem* religious and deuowt. and how can it be otherwise? for they spend there tyme most in studie, in exercises of learning, and in matters of deuotion. Neither ar they in such dainger of Debauchement, or the infections of disorder; for they be strictlie kept to ther task, and rather wonn then forced to yt: and the they be bridleed with a hard bite, it is carried with a gentl hand. and greater care is had, bycaute manie of them ar of eminent families, and noble parentage: who though they can not dravv ther pettigrees from Lewlin Prince of Wales, as the Pronotharie doth: yet can they show a discent both ancient, and honorable, neither yeomen of the wardrobe, nor yeomen of the gard.

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And touching ther being fugitiues; they answer well for them selfs, that they deserue not properlie such a title. for they liue not ther as owtlawes, but for conscienc sake and to avoyd the rigour of the new lawes, opposite to the doctrine of the Church.

Secondlie, they liue not there, for faction or vndewtiefull affection, to his maiestie; but compelled by extreme necessitie: the Catholickshaving in England no Churches, no Catholick service, no dew administration of the sacraments nor vse of the sacrifice of the altar. and so they saye, they should liue in England, as bodies withowt sowles, or sowles withowt food: and so either be starued for want thereof, or become Apostataes from ther religion, or liue as Atheists, withowt religion. Thirdlie yf yow put vpon them, the disgrace full name of *fugitiues*, onelie bycause they doe not accommodate them selfs to your Canons, and the *injunctions* of the present tyme, and therfor depart owte of the realme. To let pass, Bartie, Knolls, Hales and others, yow must not forget, that your great Doctors, Jewel, Horn, Cox, Pilkinton, Poynt, and manie others, ded talk the like cours in Quene Maries tyme. And yf these men weat not *fugitiues*, and deserued in your iudgment no disgrace, for remai-

2.
Fugitiues.

remaining at Frankfort, Strasburgh, and speciallie Geneva: noted for the Seminarie of all Conspiracies in France: how comes it to pass, that those at Douay and S. Omers (being in the same case) are so hatefullie censured to be fugitiues? And yf they wear *fugitiues*, (as the lawe also then ded iudg them,) yow ded so welcome them home, with the titles of Lords, and Bishops: that I perceauē, to be a fugitiue of your making, is but a verball obiection, and not a reall scandall.

Besides, they answer trewlie, and reasonable. As they can not remain in England, withowt dainger and offence of lawe: so when they come over hither, they commit treason: and yf they returne, a promoter or a pursuant will shovv them the waye to Nevvgate, (except they renounce, their religion, vvhich yovv esteame peradventure but a Peccadillo.) and that is evident, by the statut 25 Elizab. c. 2. (wherby yong men that returne not from the Seminaries, and abiure not their religion, are mayd guiltie of treason.) and they, vvho send them releaf and exhibition, fall into the dainger of a *Premunire*. what remedie can yow teache vs, against this *Dilemma*? Yf they might fynd grace, and haue the happienes to be freed from the dainger
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of these Lawes, and (which they hum-
 blie craue) toleration of ther consciences
 and religion: neither Doway, nor S. Omers,
 could hould them : they would quicklie
 show ther dewtiefull affection to ther Prin-
 ce, ther naturall loue to ther contrie; and
 for ther parents and kindred, (from who-
 me they ar separated to ther great discom-
 fort) they should playnlie fynd, that kyn-
 denes vwould not creape, vwhen it may sa-
 felie go.

3.
*They cor-
 rupt not
 the Land.*

Nowv touching the next poynt, (whear
 vvith they ar charged,) for corrupting the
 land vvith false doctrine. First, in this ac-
 culation, as yovv presuppose Calvinism
 and your religion to be an infallible veritie;
 so the preasts and religious heare, at as
 confident, that it is impietie. On both sy-
 des, ther ar learned, and vertuous men:
 and one will not vayne bonnet to the other.
 hovv then should the quarrel be decided?
 or shall it remain perpetuall, and a skour-
 ge to the vvorld? The Bushops in the first
 parliament of the Quene, ded vrge and of-
 fer to defend the principles of ther religion
 by disputation: vvwhich the protestants
 would not accept, * *nisi Baronus in theologicis* *
pauum versatus, tanquam index præsideret. and
 he being a professor of the common lawes,
 vvhy he should be chosen moderator of
 such

Camden.

such a Diuinitie disputation; Cambridge can neither geue reason, nor president; nay rather yf yovv ask ther opinion, they will aufwer, *Speculum admissi*. &c. for it is a ridiculous Solæcism. Since, Father *Parsons*, and diuers others haue mayd the same challenge, desirous to bring I ruthe to the Tryal and touchstone, in solemn and publick manner. And let no man object, the colloquies at *Possy*, *Ratisbon*, *Wormes*, *Altzenburgh*, *Mulbrun*, &c. which wear fruitles, bycause formeles: they ded not produce the effects expected, bycause they erred in ther courſe of proceeding; and I confess I vnder stand not, the misterie why the protestants in England now draw back, seing *seuel* in the beginning was so forward, and mayd so liberal offers: which yf anie would now defend, it would quicklie appear, which religion wear counterfeit, and which currant: whether doctrine wear solide, and whether not. speciallie hauing a *moderator*, who could discover euasions, guid the disputers; and iudiciouſlie determin, to whome the prize should be giuen.

And yf perhaps some would except, and alledg the conferenc betwean M. Hart and D. Reignolds: betwean Gode and Cam-
pion, which wear houored and diuulged as
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triumphes: and that these ought to stand as sufficient proofes, to convince the Catholicks, yf the truthe so well sifted by disputation, may satisfie them, and prevaile. I answer, it is *iniquissima conditio*, for a man armed, to sett vpon a prisoner, to insult vpon a man weakned with fetters; and destitute of books; withowt preparation and warning: and (which is worst) in the face of a rack and torments, whear Campion had been posed with crewel quæstions before: and in a place of no indifferencie, whear they may sett down what they list, and frame a combate at ther pleasure, as Reynolds ded.

And whear as perhaps for politick causes, the king and the Lords may dislike anie publick disputation, vpon the grownds of religion: yet this may well be granted, (and the french kings president, may induce it.)

The preasts and fathers, offer to prooue that Iewel (the maister Carpenter of that Apologie of the Church of England:) that Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and the later Doctors (Colonells of the new plantation,) haue overcrowed and born down the Catholicks (for opinion of truthe, sinceritie, and learning) onely by *false quotations, corruptions, falsifications, misrecalls*: and that

Y. both

both of scriptures and fathers, both of the text and the gloss. And this they humble pray and hope, that his Maiestie in his own tyme ywould be pleased to grant; bycause these be heynous offences; and the temple of veritie can not be builded vpon error and false grownds: and bycause illusions and forgeries, be *stratagemata satanae*: that at least he would permit the triall of that iust accusation; and so afterward esteame of ther integritie, as they shall acquite them selfs.

3. *Praestis*
at no pra-
estis.

Concerning the third poynt, that the Seminaries bread such preasts, as ar ministers of practises, and stirr the people to rebellion: as they ar charged both by the book of execution of iustice, and by the proclamation 1580. whearin particularly they ar accused to haue been priue and accessarie, to the counsells and proiects of the king of Spayne, the Pope, and others, who intended and combined at that tyme, to invade England, to depose the Quene, and subdeu the realme.

I must freelie answer, that iealousie is trewlie described to be full of eyes, and yet all pur-blind: fearefull of her own shadowe; euer in *motu trepidationis*, and contrarie to the motions, of other starres.

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with all ther Opticks they could not foresee the great daingers like to fall vpon them, till they wear at ther doors. And hauing by error drawen and prouoked them; yet took they the course, rather to continue the flame, then quench the fyre: to encreas the mallice then prevent the mischeaf.

For first yf anie such confæderation had bean, (which never yet could be discouered, nor was recorded in anie historie) was it probable, that so great and so wise Princes, would acquaint the poor speculatiue preasts at Reams or Douay, or the fathers of the societie, with ther plats and intentions? is it credible that they vould manage matters of state so weakelie? yea, but these Princes purposed by the meanes of the preasts and religious, to prepare a partie assistant in England; how? by reconciling the people to the Pope, that they might ioyne, with hym and the king of Spaynes armie. One error begets an other: for preasts doe not reconcile men to the Pope, but to God and his Church.

1. And yet surelie it was a miracle, that among so manie preasts, and in so long tyme, and when Spies and intelligencers wear employed and rewarded; neither anie such preast could be nominated, (who was then

or after, so corrupted or induced by these great Princes:) nor anie was afterward apprehended or discovered, for anie such trespasse. and which is most to be marked, not anie subiect was called in question, or accused for entertaining anie preasts to that end. then how phantastical was this feare? what an imagination of Chimeraes and terrors? most iniurious, to touch the reputation of all the English preasts in generall, and by statuts and proclamations, to call ther names and ther liues in question: and to haue no sufficient vvitnesses to accuse them, no euident against them, nothing but presumptions and probabilities to attaint them of treason. the lyfe and honor of subiects, wear wont to be esteemed more pretious: and the function of preasts, more reuerenced.

2. I may also add this: that when the king of Spaynes armado, was vnder sayle towards England, not a preast nor Seminarie man was fownd in it. And though in the proclamation, they wear traduced to be men suborned for preparation and making the way leuel for ther better landings: yet how vvell they prepared it, appeareth by this, that neither preast nor Catholick, vwear apprehended and attainted for anie such offence, as is afore sayd.

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3. Besides howv liel affiance the king of Spayn had in the English preasts and Catholicks of that tyme, was demonstrated by this; that all the religious English at Valladolid and Burgos 1589. wear fettered and committed close prisoners, when the armie of England assaulted Lisbon, and invaded Portingal.

Furthermore in all the actual treasons and conspiracies, supposed to be mayd against Q Elizabeth: ther was never preast, or monk, or friar touched or taynted for anie of them. For certanlie the holie altars of God will not suffer nor indure so vngodlie machinations: and cloysters, bread better humors, elenate ther sowles from the world. they think not of Princes but in ther prayers; and *venite ad iudiciũ* sounding ever in ther eares, requires a continual *preparate* in ther harts (which is an antidote against treason.) And that I think the cause, vvhy in the 45. yeares of the Quenes raigne as I haue hard, ther vvear onelie 2. secular preasts convinced and attainted for actual Treason, Ballard (for knowing and concealing the attempts of A. Babington:) and owld parson Plometree (for saying Mass at the rising in the Northe, for I never hard of anie other treason he committed.) yet it is straining to see, what a mali-

cious extension of offences they make, vvhhat inuectiues vveare published against them and ther vocation: vvhhat sermons, proclamations, lawes vveare mayd in thunder and terror against these poor soldiers of the Church militant vnder the banner of Christ? and what crosses and sufferings haue they not endured? the onelie Colledge of Rheims and Douay besides all other religious orders, can best testifie the rigor, who smarted most by it; sending into the Haruest of the Lord about 100. labourers; who all suffred for *resmere spirituales*, for being preasts, and doeing ther office, and for no other treasons, (as hearafte shall be explained.)

5. But, fullie to cleare and purge them, from all iust scandall and calumntiation, I vwill confirme and iustifie ther innocencie, and ther loyall harts to Quene Elizabeth, *obsignatis tabulis.*

Anno 27. Elizab. it vvas mayd felonie to receaue and harbour a preast, and treason to be a preast. and the act ded look back, verrie crevvellie to 1. Elizab. that vvhon vveare mayd preasts since, should be branded vwith that mark.

The vvhich lawes vveare mayd, in regard of Parries treason, of Frances Throgmorton, of Babington and his complices, and

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of Fa. Campion, and the preasts vvith hym arraigned: vpon the conceipt and opinion had, of there practises and combinations, for restoring religion, and for deliueranc of the Quene of Scotts: all vvich vwear then fresh in memorie.

Whearupon the preasts then being in England, framed a supplication by common consent, and deliuered the same to the Quene at Grenvvich by the hands of maister Shellie (for the vvich secretarie Walsingham committed hym to the marshalie, vvhear he dyed: bycause the counsell vwear not mayd first acquainted vvith yt.) In that petition, first they renounced and condemned Parrie his practises; then they declared ther opinion in these vvords.

1. We for our parts vtterlie denie, that either the Pope or the Cardinalls, haue power or authoritie, to command or licens anie man to consent to mortall sinn, or to commit or intend anie fact, *contra ius diuini*.

2. Who soeuer he be spirituall or temporall, that deliuereth or mantaineth so apparent sacriledg; we renounc hym and his opinion as deuclish.

3. For our trew purgation we protest before God, that all preasts who ever conversed with vs, haue acknowledged your

Maiestie ther lawfull Quene, *tam de iure, quam de facto*, and pray for yow, and exhort your subiects to obey yow.

4. They p^{re}cc^{ise} (elie admonish vs, that it is h^{er}esie for anie subiect, to lift vp his hand against Gods anoynted.

And so by this supplication, they answered all the six articles, which wear v^{is}ual^{lie} tendered and objected to all p^{re}asts. Then how doe these men deserue, to be charged for defending propositions of treason? or corrupting the subiects, or attempting against the sacred person of Gods anoynted: ded those ther opinions, geue anie cause to maik such seuear lawes against them? or to continew them? But I will maik ther loyaltie yet appeare more plainlie. after the Gunpowder Treason, (the name and memorie wheareof, doth yet greaue the harts of all good Catholicks.) first the Archp^{re}ast, ded v^{it}terlie condemne it, by writing. as a most detestable and irreligious deute.

And the p^{re}asts them selfs, aswel for ther own purgation, and to clear ther vocation and societie from an imputation so odious; as also to testifie and approoue ther obedience, and loyaltie: they exhibited thre petitions. One to his Maiestie: an other to the Parliament (by the hand of Seigneur
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Frances Hastings, and Syr Richard Kingh-
lie:) and an other to the Earl of Salisburie
(protestations of there innocencie, and te-
stimonies of ther fidelitie and dewtiefull-
nes.) What could they doe more, or what
could be desyred more of them? therfor
his Maiestie, in his proclamation 7. Nou.
graciously declared his good opinion and
assurance of the Catholicks in these words.
Wear, sayd he, by good experience, so well
persuaded of the loyaltye of diuers subiects, of
the Roman religion, that they doe, as much abhorre
this detestable conspiracie, as we our selfs. and
good reason, for therby all should haue
perished together, of both religions.

Which induced father Garnet, (who was
there confessor) to protest his dislike all-
waies of it, and to repent his fault sorrow-
fullie, (which was onelie in concealing it;
and which he conceaued, that he ought
not to reueal; knowing it onelie by ther
confessions.) and which also moued Syr
Euerard Digbie, to lament his ill fortune,
that he should leaue behind hym the me-
morie of such a loath some stayne: tho he
was not mayd priuie to ther drift and pur-
pose.

What need I say more? how farr Preafts
and Catholiques ever detested sedition and
treason, appeareth by the treatise of that
lear-

learned Bushop, D. Christopherson against rebellion. and would yow know how much those of Rheames condemned treason and disobedience: Read pag. 301. *their notes upon the testament lately printed: Subiects vveare bound in temporall things, to obey the heathen being lawfull kings, and to be subiect to them euen for conscience, to keap their temporall lawes, to pay them tribute, to pray for them, and to doe all other naturall deuities.* And yet Doctor Kellison goeth further, for in his learned Suruey, he giueth a good reason for it. *Bycassus (saith he) faith is not necessarily required to iurisdiction, neither is authoriti lost by loss of faith.* which opinion Waldensis ded long since defend with great iudgment against that monstrous opinion of Wiclef.) Nay further, they teach obedience for conscience sake, not for onelie feare of punishment, and penalties of the law (for lawes are neuer so vvel obserued, as when they are enacted in the conscience of the people:) he that obeyeth for pollicie onelie, may disobey for pollicie, which varieth vpon occasions, and so doth his obedience with it.

7. But yf yow desyre yet to be better assured and satisfied: I will show yow the opinion of the Bushops, and prelates of Queene Mariestyme. The new deuised six articles (composed by D. Hammon) vveare propo-

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proposed to all preasts, as the touchstone to trie ther loyaltie. 1. whether the bull of Pivs V. wear a sentenc to be obeyed? 2. whether Q. Eliz. wear a lawfull Quene, not withstanding the bull. 3. whether the Pope had power to geue authoritie, to her subiects, to rebell and depose her, &c. Vpon these quæstions, Bushop Watson, Abbot Fecknam, D. Iohn Harpesfeald, D. Nicholas Harpesfeald and others, wear curiouslie examined. Some of them answered they never see the bull: but all of them professed ther obedienc notwithstanding the bull, *ei ut vera regina obediendum*. And fullie Nichol. Harpesfeld resolued them, *ego regalem eius auctoritatem in omnibus rebus causisque civilibus & temporalibus a nosco*. the which Goldastus (tom. 3. de Monarchia S. Imperii Rom.) doth report.

8. But to conclude, with a demonstrative argument: against which I know no iust exception or opposition. yow would know, how Princes can be assured of Catholicks, and how farr they may repose confidenc in them? and whether ther religion tyeth so ther consciences to devv obedienc, that merciefull and good Princes may rest secured, they will neither revolt from ther allegianc, nor attempt against ther persons, nor mooue the people to seditious practises.

1. les. *S. Thomas lib. de regimine princip. cap. 8.* negat posse tyrannum a quoquam privata auctoritate interfici (quite contrarie, to the rules of Parreus and knox.) and so doth D. Gerson,
2. (the learned Chancellor of Paris) determin and define. And touching the
3. Canon law. *Decret. 1. part. caus. 23. q. 3. de Episcop.* it doth decree, *de Episcopis vero, vel quibus licet Clericis: quod nec sua auctoritate, nec auctoritate Romani pontificis, arma accipere valcant, facile probatur.*

4. And yet bycause there maye be Canils and obiections drawen vpon some words of the Canons, to maikē dowbt of the truth and certantie of this opinion: the Canon lawes of England doe explain it fullie. for in the Prouinciall constitutions, in the Councel at Oxford holden by Stephen of Canturbury. 1218. anno 8. H. 1. an excommunication is decreed against all those, *qui pacem & tranquillitatem Domini regis & regni perturbant.*

And to voyd all quæstions, the generall Councel of Constance, sess. 15. concluded, that is an error in faith, to hould that subjects maye kill ther Prince being a tyrant. the words ar these. *Nuper accepit sancta Synodus quod nonnulli assertores erronea dogmatizati sunt, reipublica statum emetere cupienti, &c. scil. ut quislibet tyrannus, potest & debet licet*

licet & saluum suū infidias, n. expectata And the esse dotir then com que per manu asse incta (a which a III. the both to ses, and holdeth yovv ha integrit artyed. see the gion, to iudg of the basis proceac tions, a yt by th fessions innocer Princes and bet then of

licite & meritorie occidi, per quemcunque va-
fallum suum & subiectum, etiam per clanculares
infidias, non obstante quocunque iuramento, nec
expectata sententia & mandato iudicis, &c.
 And therupon, the counsell decreed, *eam*
esse doctrinam erroneam in fide & moribus: and
 then condemneth it, and enacteth, *Quicum-*
que pertinaciter doctrinam hanc perniciosissi-
mam asserentes, sunt haeretici; & tanquam tales
iuxta Canonum sanctiones sunt puniendi. The
 which act, after the parricide of Henry the
 III. the parliament of Paris published,
 both to condemne such infernall practi-
 ses, and to show how sacred the Church
 holdeth the persons of Princes. So now
 yovv haue seene (as in a glasse) the face, and
 integritie of the Catholicks, and how they
 arrayed, to obedienc of magistrates: yovv
 see the dogmaticall principles of ther reli-
 gion, touching ther loyaltie. yf yovv vwill
 iudge of them, by ther doctrine, yovv see
 the *basis* vpon vvhich they build: yf by ther
 proceedings, ther petitions, ther protesta-
 tions, and publick profession acquite them:
 yf by ther course of lyfe, ther frequent con-
 fessions, and continuall psayers, shovv ther
 innocencie. and to speak confidentlie all
 Princes, at more secure, and haue a more
 and better tye and obligation of Catholiks;
 then of anie Calvinists or Lutherans vvhath
 soever.

soever. And yf he who writ that Pamphlee of Romish doctrine, in case of Conspiracie and rebellion, and marked vpon euerie leaf, Romish positions and practises of rebellion: will read this plain recrimination, and relation (mayd to recompence his trouble:) he shall fynd, how false and scandalous these Chimæraes, and fictions weare: and how iniurious to all preasts and religious, to call ther names and reputation therby inqzstion, *ubi de capite sunt comina.*

But Coolors vvill best appeare, when they ar compared. therfor examin yf anie sectaries overmatch this fidelitie? and geue so good assuranc to Princes, to leane and relie vpon ther loyaltie. Philip Melāthion, in his epitome of Moral philosophie, saith, *Violare leges ciuiles, seu edicta magistratum ciuiliū est peccatum mortale*, (thus saith he agreeth with the Church, which taught hym that lesion:) and therfor he addeth, *sciamus conscientiam fieri ream, si non obtemperemus. & considera quantum est hoc vinculum obedientia, & publica tranquillitatis?* in dead ther can be required, no greater or stronger a tie, and so simple ar all Catholicks eyed. but hauing mayd vp this hedg, to keap owt disorder: he leaues a gap open, to bread new trowbles, and break all bonds. for saith he, *debet autem hac sententia de magistratuum*

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statutum edictis prudenter intelligi, scilicet de his edictis. quæ non iubent facere, contra mandatum Dei. For then all is, naught, as before he showed *ex libro consil. Emangel.* that inferior magistrates may alier religion, and overthrow Idolatrie. and so hear is neither left anie eye; nor yet anie instruction, how to be able to iudg whether and when the Prince doth idolatrize or doe *contra mandatum Dei.* But yf the iustices of peace, and Constables be perswaded, in ther conscienc, that the Prince erreth in his: then at they authorised by Melancthon, both to iudg and geue lawv to the Prince and not to obey hym.

1. Luther, prescribeth that men should obey municipal lawes, (as I haue cited, com.

3. Witteb. before in the first title:) but yf yow obiekt to hym, *ne excitetur tumultus contra Episcopos:* then he falleth into Melancthons gap, *an ideo negligetur verbum Dei, & peribit populus?*

3. And this, is backed with a generall consent of the more precise protestants, that subiects may by armes maintain ther religion. what to resist and defend onelie? yea and to offend also, as appeareth by Danzus l. 6. polit. c. 3. and by P. Martyr in cap. 11. Iudic. and in locis com. and Althusius polit. c. 35. pag. 37. maketh thre iust causes of

of warr, 1. *institia denegatio*, 2. *pura religionis defensio*. 3. *repetitio rerum ablatarum*.

4. It may be thought I choose owt, the worst of ther opinions, and misreport them: therfor I will cleare my self, sufficientlie. Doctor Swinglius, teacheth, *dum flagitij loco non mouentur, totum populus a Deo puniuntur*. So he warrants them to depose Princes.

The famous minister Sureau (called Rosieres, who was after emprisoned at Paris) writ a book to prooue, that it was lawfull, to kill Charles the 9. and the Quene moother, yf they would not obey the gospel, (*id est* Caluinitime) so witnesseth Belforest l. 6. c. 102.

In the confession of the french Church art. 39. they saye, *affirmamus parendum esse legibus, soluenda tributa, subiectionis iugum tolerandum, etiamsi infideles fuerint mo iurati*. but what fellow sa that which corrupts all, *dummodo, Des summum imperium int-grum maneat*. Now, bycause in this *dummodo*, maye lurk an æquiuocation: it is explained in the Synod of Bearn, 1572. *Des imperium dicitur manere liberatum, cum rex exterminata Catholica religione, solam veram & puram extoluit*. Gods trewlie worshipped, obeyed, and serued, when the Catholick religion is banished, and onelie the truth is professed (which is in effect all one, as to say when Calui-

Calvinism is established:) for they concluded all men enemies that are not of that profession, as Poplonnier testifieth l. 34.

This is the doctrine of their Synodes: and in their publick Apologies the same lesson is read. in Comment. *de statu relig.* part. 2. l. 12. c. 1. the warr, which subjects make against their Prince, is defended. and fol. 349. yf the king maintain his own religion against them, what then? *Rex a populo potest exauthorari, per ordinum in regem auctoritatem* and again, *nec omnes regni partes in solidum committunt regi, sed tantum superior regni dignitas: cuius tamen suo modo & certis conditionibus, inferiores magistratus, sunt participes. maxime officarii coronæ.* all states and members of the realm, are not committed to the king, but the chief and prime dignities of state: whereof, in some measure, and condition, inferior magistrates doe participate, speciallie the officers of the crowne. but this is a gross paradox, not worth the skanning. yet that which followeth is not better. *In populi iuramento, tacita aut expressa est conditio semper, se obtemperaturum regibus, quamdiu iusto imperio rem gererent.* They have one evasion or another, shifts to cullen the law. object, that subjects are bound by their oath, to obey their Prince: he answers it with a *quantis*. So
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long as the king serues God, we will serue hym, then that must be a clause in the oath of allegiance, yf a Calvinist taik it. and I will satisfie yow, why I say so. The Prince of Condie, 1577. gane this as a rule: *Promissum illud Evangelicorum, de armis contra regem non ferendis, & de abiurata religione, facium est, contra Deum, & bonos mores, &c. & tale promissum seruare non tenentur.* the Gospellers of France, ar not tyed to performe ther oath and promise (*scilicet* notto beare armes against ther king, or to abiure religion:) for it was, both aguinſt god, and good manners. Poplonnier l. 41.

And this he learned of Calvin, l. 4. c. 13. §. 21. *Instituit. Quibuscumque huius Evangelij lux affulget, &c. ab omnibus laqueis & iuramentis absoluitur.* That man who is so happy, as to see the sonn shyne of the Geneva gospel (*huius Evangelij*): he is absolued and discharged from the dainger of all oaths, and snares to enthrall the conscience. A maruellous priuiledg; and such a priuiledg the Princee of Orenge had, as appeareth by his aduises to Monsieur, in his letters intercepted and published, as Surius declareth anno 1581. And doe yow imagin, that these beams of the sonn, ded never shine in England? maister Dudlie Fenner, who iumpeth right with the Apostles of Gene-

ua, lib. 3. cap. 13. of an euel Prince, he giueth this fearefull sentence. *Hunc tollant vel pacifice, vel cum bello: vel regni Ephori, vel omnium ordinum consensus.*

So, *tollant*, is decreed, the king must be pulld down: but by whome? by *Regni Ephori*. who at they; bycause it concerneth the crowne, ask the kings attornie, or the Clark of the Crowne, whether they acknowledge anie such officer: and I am perswaded, they will read hym a lecture, against *scientia infiat*, which will teach hym discretion. but, go on.

When maister William Reynolds, objected the tumults, and sedition of the gospellers in France D. whitacre, in his preface, answereth hym, thus. *Although it vwear sufficient for ther condemnation, that they resisted: (so then, he thinketh that not sufficient, or bycause he speaks not categoricè, talk it onelie as the doubt of a Doctor.) And ded not admit what violenc vvas offred to Gods truthes, or them selfs: contrarie to oath, promise, edicts, or law: (vvhetherby they vwear vvarranted to doe what they ded.)* Then the Huguenots of France, in D. whitacres opinion, vwear warranted, to resist the king. to assault his townes, to fight with his officers, and to doe all acts of rebellion. examin ther warrant; the law was against them, the edicts. of

the king wear against them (for the admiral was proclaimed traytor) and the court parliement ded verifie the edicts. But he addeth , they wear cleared from the crime of rebellion , by iust defenc of ther doeing, and by edicts of Princes. hear be two bucklers, ther Apologies ar the first: the kings proclamation the second. Doe not yow imagin that he is much driven to his shifts, that fights with so weak weapons. yf an apologie vwear sufficient to clear a man who would be condemned? Scotland had a Buchanan; France an Hottoman; Holland, Orenge, (who generallie, sought to excuse hym self, and the contrie, and lay all the burden on the kings back.) yet an apologie, serued not. And for edicts, they wear proclamations of the kings mercie, edicts of pacification: not to warrant that which the Huguenots ded, but to pardon them. and so that Doctor so esteemed for his diuinitie; erreth much in matters of humanitie and defenc of his brethren. and specialle yf he lead them to Melancthons gapp, to resist, to oppugne princes, or to defend ther opinions with the sword (which S. Peter ded not teach, 1. Epist. c. 2. v. 19. c. 4. v. 15. 16. c. 5. v. 9.)

But hear, I must maik a stand: for seing I haue so much touched, and so personallie,

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the opinions of the Lutheran, french, and
 puritan Churches: I see a tempest of toungs
 rising against me, to pay home and requite
 my obiections (for it will not be easie to
 answer them.) And first I will encounter,
 the Picture-maker, Ormer.

and Iesuits
 teachmur-
 d ring of
 Princes.

Who accuseth D. Allen, for teaching ^{1.} D. Allen.
 men to murder princes; and that in his Apo-
 logie of the Seminaries, he citeth. 25. of
 Numeri, that subiects may take their so-
 uerains and hang them vp. (a thing so im-
 pious, that it never cam into a religious
 hart.) For they are much deceaued that
 think it a propertie of Catholicks; (as this
 man and P. vvhite doe,) but that it is not
proprium quarto modo, omni, soli, & semper, it
 is all readie plainelie and demonstratiuelie
 prooued. but I vvill show, maister Orm.
 the picture of a minister of Geneva of the
 first edition, that whotelie defends the sa-
 me, yow accuse D. Allen for.

Goodman *l. de obedientia*, saith he, *factum*
illud, quod memoratur, Numi. 25. perpetuum
est exemplum in omnem aeternitatem. & certa
denunciatio populi, ut in simili defectione à cul-
tus Dei, rectores suos qui à Deo ipsos abducunt, ad
furem abripiant & suspendant. Et quanquam
posset videri hæc magna confusio, ut populus sibi
tantum assumat: tamen cum magistratus officio
suo fungi desinit, populus ipse considerandus est,

ac si caveret omni magistratu, & tum Deus ipse
gladium in populi manus tradit: & Deus ipse, ef-
ficiunt immediate eorum caput.

As now, yow imputed to D. Allen, the
citing of that text in Num. to be a position
and principl of Papists, to depose and mur-
der Princes. I show a Calvinist, that affir-
mes the same, and overmatcheth hym.
Iam sum: ut ergo parcs. but yet is ther odds:
for D. Allens words, and scope differ from
Goodmans.

Goodman warrants the peopl to execut
ther Princ; geues them reasons, shoves
the way, and to confirm them maiks it
Gods act. D. Allen, complayning against
the rigour and seueritie of the lawes of E.
showes, they ar not to obey and perform
them, but stirrs not vp the peopl to rebell:
he shoves what resistanc may be warrant-
ed, but incites not to resist. I vwill cite his
ovvn vvords. cap. 5. *Pro Catholica religione
certare preclarum: sed modo, & tempore. Ut
conscientia lex sacra, supremi pastoris sententia
dirigant.* So then he recites Deuter. 13. and
Num. 25. and infers. *Illud autem in omni-
bus ijs exemplis notandum, populum, non sua
voluntate & impetu ad has Cedes, sed à prophe-
tis & Sacerdotibus commonefacti: id quod omni
posteritati sequutura exemplo est, ne alius prius-
to odio, superbia, &c. in errores ruamus, & im-
probitatem*

probitatem nostram religionis velo, tegamus. So hear is more discretion, and more dewtie, then *al furcas abripere*: more order and government, then *suspendere*, (as in furie:) more religion, then to teach that God ded authorise the peopl to so desperate actions.

Doctor Sutclit, in his book called *Turcopapismus*: obiecteth, this against *Fa. Parsons*. ^{2.} *Lopez a personio Iesuita, & Hispanis quibusdam, ad reginam interficiendam magna pecunia conductus, nisi vigilantia Essexij scelus deprehensum.* I will tell the Doctor, such an other tale, to maik hym amends. Peter Rannie'a Cooper, was reported to haue bean hyred by *Manuarius* rector of Douay, prouincial of the Iesuits, to kill Count Morrice: and vpon examination of the matter, it was found a fable, as this is, which the Doctor deliuereth so confidentlie. for in that action of Lopez, ther was no man accused, but Portingals and Spanyeards: and in the examinations which I haue sean and read (whearin all the circumstances ar declared) all the aydors, moouers, and actors ar nonninated: there is not one word of *Fa. Parsons*. And when maister Eger-ton, ded in the Guildhall, most largelie and eloquentlie vrg all he could, against Lopez; not a word was spoken of *F. Parsons* (which he would not haue omitted, yf

ther had been cause.) and all men knew; that knew hym, that he was not a like man, to venture his reputation, in a foreign bottom, subject to so many leaks, and so much dainger as that was. and therfor this was a scandalous fiction.

3.
Parrie.

But the Treason of Parrie, is lowdly soundred in all mens eares, as a reproach and stayne of Catholick religion: bycause the Pope by his letters, had prouoked hym to kill the Quene. hear is some probability. yet this is no stayne at all; for Parrie confesseth, that maister Wats a seminarie preast; (with whome he had conference) disliked both his motion, and attempt: and told hym, that it was an vnlawfull practise. and that diuers other preasts did the like.

Besides at Lyons, when he came to Fa. Creighton a Iesuit) after his confession, he opened to hym his intentions, (belike perwading hym self, that the good father would byte, at such a bate. but Fa. Creighton vertuously resolved hym, *quod omnino non liceret*, it was against Gods lawe: and by diuers reasons dissuaded hym. and thus much he hym self confessed to the Quene: Hollinshead in his chron. witnesseth it; and few men that are of experience about London but know and acknowledg it. So ther

is a discharg both, to the fathers, and preasts, for Parriestreason. Now touching the Popes letter; yow must vnderstand, that this counterfeit, had bean long vsed in Ita ie, as a spie. and synding vpon his return, to lrl encooragement at Lyons, by the fathers: he travelled to Paris. whear he sought to insinuate hym self into D. Allen and Fa. Parsons, (who wear there with the Lord Paget:) but not synding such entertainment at ther hands, as he expected; he was brought by means to the Nuncio, to whome he deliuereth a letter, written by hym self in Italian and directed to the Pope. 1. whearin first he confessed the wrongs, he had doone to Catholicks. 2. That he was going into England, to maik some satisfaction by his seruices; and 3. desiring his benediction and approbation (vvithovve specifying anie particularitie, he meant to performe there.) which letter is yet extant, at Room, vpon record. and to this letter, Card. Como answered: and vpon this is all the triumph.

The letter of C. Como. is common: examin it, and see, yf either ther be anie particuler seruices intimated, or anie seditious directions giuen from the Pope, more then an encooragement *in genere*, to an offer *in genere*. What then can yovv reasonable

nablie infer vpon this to disgrace Catholicks? yovv may infer, that the Pope showed a fatherlie affection to England, that would vouchsafe to write to Parrie, (promising to doe some good service.) but by that letter, yovv can not infer that he exhorted, or encouraged Parry to anie treasonable; speciallie considering, that such actions be notoriouslie condemned by the sea Apostolick, Councils, fathers, and schoolmen.

But it vvas Parries deuise, to procure that letter to serue his turn in England, and to vse the Popes name, both to abuse the Catholicks, and deceaue the Quene. vvhē he departed secretlie from Paris, vvithovvt an *Adieu* to F. Parsons, (vvith vvhome he vvas not vvell pleased, for being ill regarded) he vvrit to the Lord Burlic, for a passport, that he might come over, and impart to the Quene great matters. he vvas admitted; the Quene hard hym: and he informed, that the Iesuits mooued hym to kill her. yet in the Parliement hovvse, he defended boldlie Catholicks, and religion, (for vvwhich the hovvse, committed hym to the tovvre: not knowving that the Quene vvas priuie to his purposes, and that her intention vvas therby to geue hym reputation, and credit vvith the Preasts and fathers.

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fathers. for now he had continuall accesss to the Quene, he hoped to be maister of S. Katharins) vvas in great fauour vvith the lo. Threaforer; and vvas employed to discover the plats and intentions of forreiners: and at home to betray the Catholicks: and particularly the Lord Lattimor, (vvhome the Threaforer, studied to haue caught in Parries nett.) But he that vvas trevv to no man, prooued false to hym self, and vvas taken in his ovvn snare: (hauing met vvith vvitts overreaching his:) and perished so vvorthilie, as I may trevvlie conclude, *quis penacius mouebitur, quid commiserit, pro quo, nemo misereri, misericors potest?*

Yet this vvas, generallie iudged the more probable, that the Pope and the papists ded employe Parrie: bycause Fa. Richard Walpool, vvas accused to haue encouraged Squire, to the like attempt. and surelie vpon examination, it vvill haue the like success. This Squire, and one Rolles 1596. vwear taken prisoners (in a pinnace of Syr Franc. Drakes, by Don Pedro Tellio) and brought to Siuil; vvhear Fa. Parsons procured for them, both libertie and apparel, (though they professed them selfs to be protestants:) and so they vwear sent avway. vvhen they cam to S. Lucars, by indiscreation, they fell into the inquisition, (an
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4.
Fa. VVal-
pool, and
Squire.

argument sufficient to vvitnes ther religion,) and so they vvear brought back to Siuil: whear Fa. Wapool ded them much fauor, set them at libertie, engaged his credit for ther soorth comming, and placed Rolls in the Iesuits Coll. and Squire in a monasterie. 1597. til they both secretlie fled avway, and left father VValpool in the briars, to answer for them.

And afterward, they sent letters, to excuse there foodain departure to Fa. VValpol, (vvhich letter he ded shoue for his discharg.) Now then weigh well, all circumstances: and examin the enditement. Squire is accused that Fa. VValpool, provoked, and instructed hym to poyson the Quene: and preached to hym at his departure, to perswade and confirme hym. Is not this probable? 1. they fled secretlie avwaye, without his knowledg, (and that vvas generallie knowen to be trew.) Squire was a man, who ever professed hym self a protestant, and so dyed. 3. a man, that at his arrainment and death, denied it. (And tho being vpon the rack 5. tymes, the torture compelled hym, to accuse hym self; yet an argument from the rack, is not a sufficient euident, being after denied.) 4. a man, that had wyfe and children in England: and not like without some great and

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present temptation, to be drawen into such a plat; and Fa. V Valpool, was as vnlike and vnfit, either to promise or perform anie recompenc of valew. 5. then what should be the motiue? his religion, would not perswade hym; for he regarded no merite. Rewards hear weare none, and w ithout some end, he wvould not cast away hym self. 6. Besides Fa. V Valpool as he was not like, to trust a protestant, with a matter of that weight, and secrecie: soneither was he of that credit, nor authoritie, that he durst doe it withowt the licence of his superiors (Fa. Parsons. and Fa. Creswel, being his ancients. 6. Besides examin, how it was proued. by his ovvn confession? it was extorted, and by the same breath denied. by Stallenge his testimonie? he had it but by hear say. a weak proof. and how was this to be performed? by poison deliuered to hym in Spayne. a straing secret, which his fellow Rolls never knevv of vvho returned vvith hym. and how was it to be doon? the sadl vpon the horseback vv as to be poisoned.

Hear was art. how could the Quene be poisoned with it so, and he scape that is sayd to hauesqueased it vpon the sadl? or yf it wear squeezed (as they tearmed it) how could part be reserued, to poison the Earl
of

of Essex? and speciallie how could it be doone, that the groomes of the stable, and the querries (vvhho ordinarily attend the horse for the Quene) could not discern it? but to conclude, vvas euer anie man hard of, that took hurt by that poyson? or was sick of it? no, no, then surely seing he denied it, seing ther was no probabilitie, and speciallie seing ther was no witneses to prooue it, I can not esteame it, as a stayn, to be iustly imputed to the Iesuits.

3. But all these, and such like deuises, passed as currant, in England (vpon a false supposition) that Mariana a Iesuite, and the fathers ded maintain that yngodlie position, of murdering and deposing Princes for religion.

1. Touching Mariana: it vvas a personal fault, *Marianus propter opinionem*; yet was he not resolut in that opinion, but handled it *problematicè*; he inclineth to the worst part, but absolutelie affirms it not. his words are, *falli possum ut humanus, si quis meliora attulerit gratis agam.*

2. Secondlie his question vvas not, for killing of kings, but for killing tyrants (vvhich is to be noted as a great difference.)

3. Againe, his vvhole order disauorrs his position, and *categoricè* determin the contrarie. Card. Tolet in his *summa*. l. 5. cap. 6.

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decreeth that it is not lawfull, to attempt against the lyfe of a Prince, tho he abuse his powver: and that it is hærésie to maintain the contrarie. So also holderth. *Greg. de Valentia part. 2. q. 64.* and of the same opinion is *Card. Bellarm. cap. 13.* of his Apologie. and *Salm. ron, tom.* expovvnding the 13. C. Rom. (vvheare he referreth the fact of Aod, against king Aeglon, to Gods expresse commandement.) I may alledg, the authoritie of learned *Lessius, de iustitia & iure, l. 2. c. 9. dub. 4. Serrarius in c. 13. lud.* Azor in his Institut. *Eccanus* in his answer to the 9. Aphorism. *Gretser* in his *Vesperatio, Hæretico politicus*, vvho confuteth *Marianaes* grounds. and so doth *L. Richeome* in his Apologie.

4. VVhat need I say more? yet to put all ovt of dovvt, this opinion of *Mariana*, vvas condemned both by a prouincial congregation of the same societie holden at Paris. 1606. and the condemnation vvas ratified, by *Claudius Aquanina*, general of the order.

5. And bycause, no man shall dovvt vvwhether it be a doctrin so generallie receaued in the Church: anno 1413. by the declaration of the Doctōrs of Sorbonna the same is averred; as also renewed 1606. that it is an vnlawfull and vngodlie position.

6. And

6. And lastlie, the doctrine of Mariana, vvas iustlie condemned by the court Parliament of Paris, the same year.

And that yovv may not stumble at *Simancaus* vwords: yovv must knowv he vvas a lawyer no deuine: and yf yovv read *Heisus ad Aphorismos*, yovv shall perceave that both he and *Becanus*, ar not guiltie of this error. see pag. 85. and 91. And all this standeth and concordeth, vvith the agreement of Gods ancient Chutch. for Irenaeus l. 5. c. 14. setteth it dovvn emong heresies, to think that kings ar giuen to men casualie, and not by providenc, and appointment of God: *quia omnis potestas a Deo*. And S. Ambrose *contra Auxentium*. a. 1. *lacrime mea, arma mea, aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere*. Nasar, Cuneus, and all that I have sear (and I have curiously searhed for it) agree in one sentenc: and the reason I am so curious in this; vvas not onelie to satisfie my ovvn conscience; but divers good and vertuous protestants in England my friends, vvho vvear much offended that a Thesis so scandalous, should be protected by the learned fathers, of the societie, as was giuen ovv,

6. There remaineth yet certain staines in the C. Maynt. Cote of Preasts, and fathers, vvich ar honestlie to be taken owt. I have hard it much vrged,

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urged, that the greatest argument for the rigour against preasts, vvas necessitie to free the state from dainger, bycause they vwear the likest men, to bread it. and that vvas speciallie discerned as they sayd by the comming in of C. Mayne, (who corrupted maister Tregion, and diuers others, and with few them from ther obedienc.)

Bycause it is a matter (vvhich concerneth all preasts:) it is necessarie to examine it with deliberation. Cuthbert Mayn vvas indited at Laupston 1577. that he had, and obtained from Roome, a bull, and instrument for absolution, and that maister Tregion, knowing hym to haue obtained the same 20. April, after dedayd and maintaine hym, and was reconciled. These wear the accusations, and iudg of them.

1. First for his reconciling, Mayn answered, that they wear deceaued, preasts ded vseto reconcile men onelie to God: neither by reconciliation, was euer anie man withdrawen from his temporal obedienc, byanie consequenc, but rather had a greater obligation.

2. And touching his being at Room, and procuring this bull of the Pope: he sayd he was never at Room. nor sought to obtain from thenc, anie Bull at all for absolving anie man.

3. Moreover, that it was copie of a bull printed which he bought at Douay, onelie to peruse and see the manner of it.

4. But that, which is most to be noted, is: that it was printed at Douay; and by the enditement, he was accused that 1. Octob. 1597. he ded obtain from Room the afore sayd instrument. for the law intended, that the trespassor should obtain immediatlie from, the Pope, not a copie, but the instrument it self. and that it should contain some matter preiudiciall to the Quenes person; or the quiet and good of the state, or to seduce and corrupt the subiects (for it is not to be imagined, that the parliement would mask that treason, by which no hurt, nor dainger can ensue to the state.)

5. But what bull was this? that maketh the matter cleare. it was a bull, concerning the Iubilie, which by the Pope is granted of course, and not at the suit of anie private person, and for all contries not for anie one, and once in 25. yeares. and that bull ded continue in force, but one yeare: which yeare was ended 1575. (and so the date of the instrument was expyred, before he bought it:) much more, 1. Octob. 1597. when he was endited. so yow see *parturimus montes*. Yet bycause he had the bull, refused to come to the Church and obey the

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Quenes proceedings, iudg Manhood could the iurie, whear manifest proofs can not be had, presumptions must be allowed, and therupon the iurie fovvnd hym guiltie. (though the enditement contained altogether *matter insufficient*, and impossible, and neither answearable, to the words, nor sense of the statut.)

For in this bull, ther wear neither words nor matter, to withdraw or seduce anie subiect from dew obediene: neither vvas ther anie thing preiudicial to the Q. to be executed. Notwith standing maister Tregon lay long in prison, among fellows, in a dongeon noysom for smells, toads, &c. fed with bread and water: and was afterward condemned in the *premunire*, and his lands seized by writ from the exchequer: and the date of the vvrit vvas before the iudgment given, (as yf they knew it should be so.) he was prisoner 16. yeares; an ancient gentlemen, and honorablie allied: and his lands 1000. pownds of old rent.) and tho it was entayled: yet the knight marshall fownd means to avoyd it who had begged his lands of the Quene. And all this vvas, but for religion: and vpon false accusation of one Twigs a parish Clack, who affirmed that he had speach vvith Mayn at Christenmas 1575. and at that tyme was Mayn at

Douay. But to go forward *ex pede Hierusalem* by this iudg of the rest. (which is so much objected.)

7.
The Bull of
Pius V.

Touching the rising in the North, and the attempts of Babington and his complices: they wear *mixt actions*, not for religion onelie, or state onelie, but for bothe: and not procured by the suite and sollicitation of religious men, but owt of ther own zeal, and compassion of the Quene of Scotland, whome the Earles accounted, nearest allied to the crowne.) And such actions, are not comprehended vvithin the compass of the Question I am to cleare and discusse.

1. But concerning the bull of P I V S V. Preasts vwear not to ask the reason of the Popes doeings. yet yovv may fynd some of the reasons specified in the bull.) diuers haue ascribed it, partlie to the loodaine-revolt of England from the Church; partlie to the prouocations mayd by the ministers there, (vvho in euerte pulpit vvhotelie and slanderouslie proclaymed the Pope Antichrist, and the man of perdition:) and some haue attributed it, to misinformation of the Quenes case, and the Catholicks. But I am sure, manie graue men vwear sorie, that it vv as either procured, or defended.

2. And C. Allen vvitnesseth, *multos illud factum esse iulisse*, (as before, yovv see, Bus-hop

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hop Watson, and the rest ded) and he vvish-
hed, that it had bean *Dei iudicio reservatum*.

3. And Fa. Parsons, and Campion, solli-
cited the mitigation thereof, (as appea-
red at his arraignment) that it might not
bynd the consciences of subiects, to diso-
bey the Quene. vvhearupon Gregorie the
13. declared (vvithovv anie limitation or
restraint) that subiects ought to performe
all devvtries to Quene Elizabeth, not vvith-
standing the censure.

4. Lastlie, yovv may probablie coniectu-
re, that the Popes ar not lightlie induced
to vse so extream courses: seing they nei-
ther sought, by such *censures*, to disturb the
peace of k. Ed. 6. of the kings of Scot-
land, Denmark, Svveden; the Duke of Sa-
xonie, or Marques of Brandenburg.

Neither doth it at all, touch the Catho-
licks, nor the present state (for *actio moritur
cum persona*;) vvwhich is the thing most con-
cerning vs.

The greatest blott is: that ther vvear
more treasons by the preasts committed in
Q. Eliz. tyme, then euer vvear in anie age,
by protestants. and that is no quæstion dis-
putable, bycaus it is *manifeste verum*; near
200. preasts and religious have bean execu-
ted for that offenc. In dead Norton, D.
Hammō, and Topclif affirm that it is trew:

8.
The praeface.

but bycaus Catholicks denieit, let vs examine, whether it be a trew *Trois*, no preasts wear executed for religion but for Treason.

1. And to, determine that the better: enquire what be the acts for which they are condemned, *to be a preast, to come over into England, to refuse the oath, to say mass, to absolve and reconcile, to preach, and minister Sacraments, and to be bred up in the Seminaries.* At these matters of State, and not of conscience? tem orall and not spiritual? crimes of treason, and not religion. They must then be a new *lexicon de verborum significationibus*: for els in forrein contries, they vwill exclaime, bycause it toucheth them all by participation) both in conscience and credit, who are preasts, and fynd their function and profession so tainted.

2. Then consider and defyne what is treason. The best definition thereof is the statute 25. Ed 3. (which was mayd according to the common lawes of England.) how know yow that? maister Ploydons opinion directeth me.

In that act, the Question was, what was treason by the common lawe: now saith he, it is a principle in the exposition of a statute, that yf the preambel sheweth anie dow be to be before, either in common law, or some statute, and afterward doth enact, that thus

it shall be: in that case it must be taken, *that the lawe doubted of, vvas so before.* For as expositors of dowbes, they would not ordaine it otherwise, then the law was.

Now it appeareth, by that statute, *scilicet*, by the common lawes of England, and by I. Stanford, in the pleas of the crown.

1. that *Treason* must ever be an *action*, not an opinion, nor a profession (for a man can not properlie be called Traytor, till he commit an act, that geues hym iustlie that denomination.) For Oldcastel vvas condemned a Traytor for his act in one court: an heretick for his opinion, in an other court; and so wear Cranmor and Ridlie for ther actions. 2. yt must be the act of a subiect, against his soouerein. Now what hurt, had euer king H. 7. or his progenitors, by anie subiect, who was a preast, sayd mass &c. or can yow show, that anie real treason by preasts was committed, or intended against the late Quene? ded they euer procure sedition, or stirr rebellion actuallie? 3. and that was needful to be prooued; for *Treason* must be for offences in the highest degree: bycause the punishment extends it self, to all his posteritie (that offends so,) to the ruine of his familie, and to terrifie others.

3. So then by the common lawes, it is not

treason. But D. H. elench was, *quatenus* he is a preast, he is not a traytor: but *quatenus*, he doth the office of a preast; in England, *Subtilissima subtilitas*: and yet bycaus false, it preuails not. For the function it self is mayd treason: and therfor the act looketh back to 1. Eliz. (to maik all preasts traytors, that had ther orders sine that tyme.)

4. Besides by the prouiso of the act 25. and 27. Eliz. yf anie preasts (committed) shall submitt them selfs to the Queneslawes, and taik the oath: they shall be freed from the penaltie of this act: and so they shall not be iudged traytors, yf they renounce ther religion. as Bell, 10. Nicholls and others ded. wherby it is playn they ar not traytors *simpliciter*, but *secundum quid*: not for fact but opinion, and to be enlarged vpon condition. and seing it is in ther powre to maik them self *in instanti* no traytors; it appeareth, ther offenc is not properlie treason: for yf it vwear so by 25. E. 3. ther acknowledgmen onelie and conformitie, and repentanc, neither could nor would haue discharged them from the Iustice of the law.

5. Exampls vvil maik the case playner. Wilm Anderson, a Seminarie Preast vvas executed, (45. Eliz.) for being in England contrarie to the statut. so vvas M.

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Barckvvorth. anno 1600. that vvas ther treason.

Tho. Pormort. 15. Eliz. vvas attainted, for being a preast residing in England, and reconciling: and Barwis vvas executed for being reconciled, that vvas ther treason: both spiritual matters. yovv may as vvell call Mithridate, poyson; black, vvhyte: vertue vice, as to call religion treason. but the law haith so called it. A nev name alters not the operation of an old vertue: the cavy of the death, maiks the martyrdome, not the name. And surelie this act of generall diffidenc, encreased more discontent.

But vvhat ded force the state to vse such violent and extraordinarie remedies vvhat ded bread such intricate trovvbles? the extraordinary chaing of religion ded cast them into this laborinth, bred these discontents, procured all these enemies; and forced the counsellors, so to punish preasts. 2. (as Camden noteth) the opinion of the Quenes illegitimation, abroad. 3. the iealoussie had, of the Quene of Scots; (whome they dowbted most for her religion, alliane in France, fauor of the Pope, and her proximitie and near kynred to the crown: 4. the bull of Pivs V.

And

And 5. the dowbt of the howse of Guise, in the behalfe of ther neace. and 6. lastlie the offenc of the k. of Spayn, forayding Orenge, and intercepting his moonie. these wear the causes, that induced the State, to prepare, arme, and vse means to prevent all mallice and mischeafe. And knowing, how strong a wall England haith for her protection: and yet vvith in them selfs, what a partie, religion had both in E. and Ireland: and no men wear so like, as preasts, to stirr vp all the humors in the bodie of the realmes: therfor to keap them owt, to expell them, and to curb the n yf they came in, they wear driuen to vse this pollicie, to maik yt treason, to be a preast, or to maintain a preast. And as this was mayd law, by that glorious Prince (who neaded such a deuise:) so it may be abrogated, by hym that neadeth it not.

Recusants.

It remaineth, that I show you, what men these Recusants are, vvho suffer in England, and hovv they haue bean put to the triall of ther vertue.

The Recusants are such, as by the new lawes, are men marked owt, that refuse for ther conscience, to frequent the ordinarie prayers, sermons, and communion, appointed by the Church of England. this is all ther offenc; and the sole trew cause, they

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the law doth take notice of them. and that fault, bycause it sheweth onelie that they ar not conformable to the Quenes injunctions, and the Canons of that Church: and doth not conuinc them of anie disloyall affection to the Quene, and the state: therfor they ar subiect to a pecuniarie mulct, vvhich the Scots men name verrie properlie and significantlie (*Saulementie.*)

They haue ailwaies bean, and yet arr, persons of good qualitie, manie of noble parentage; most, of vnder standing: fevv of the meaner sort: and all, men of vertue and pietie, who haue learned, vvhat accompt is to be mayd of conscience. And of this sort of subiects, diuers haue bean euer since the first alteration. It vvas an information of more mallice, then truth (by that profownd Caluist and Reporter of the lawes:) that from 1st Elizab. No person ded refuse to come to the Church (to publick and vsuall prayers) till the bull of Pius 5. vvas published.

As yf that bull had bean the sole meane, to induce recusants, to disobey the Quenes lawes; and so to mark disloyaltie and disobedience, the *Original of recusancie*. I knowv, he could not be ignorant, that all *puritans*, refused to come to Church, or to communicate: and vvear best content to walk

vvalk in the Church, till sermon begon; so much they ded dislike the liturgie of England.) Besides he forgot, how manie bushops, and preasts, yyear then knowen and professed recusants: and how manie noble men, and gentlemen of account, ded forbear to shovv them selfs members of that Church. I marvel how he could conceave, that onelie *Leuites* and prelates, wear left to pray and serue God: for a people, who shovved no religion nor constancie, to wards Gods worship in tenn yeaers. No Sr England had manie worthie men at that tyme, vvho never bowed ther knee, to Nabugodonosors *statua*; as Lanhearn, Grafton, Dinglie, Ashbie, and manie other places can vvitnes. and the author of the execution of Iustice, giueth better testiemonie thereof; and vseth it as an argument of the Quenes rare clemencie, and her confidence of ther loyaltie. further more, yf yovv look curiously and iudiciously into it, that bull ded not concern ther going to the Church and serving God: but touching the Quenes being lawfull Quene, and serving her. (after the excommunications.)

Now How these noble gentlemen, and others succeeding, wear vled and oppressed: to vvhat reproaches they vwear subiect, by the basest skoomes of men: it is a lamentable

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It vvvas not affliction enough, to authorise pursuants to search ther howses : and Promoters to informe against them : but they must also haue a Felton, surue yor of ther lands, and estates: What losses ded they sustain, by the leases of the third part of ther lands? what loss of goods, by rapine? what spoyle of woods? what bribes wear they forced to geue, *gratiam emendando*? I need not repeat them : I haue seene some part of the proceeding.

For ther committing to *Wilsbich, Banbury, Elie, the Fleet, York, or Ludlow*: though they ded suffer ther restraint patientlie: yet I must needs pittie them, by cause ther they lost ther libertie, hazarded health, wear forced to neglect ther state : wear detained from ther wiues and children : and mayd subiect to the contempt of the world.

And touching ther being Disarmed : yt was more disgrace then loss: it prooued they wear distrusted, which vvvas a course rather to prouoke, then reclayne them. But for ther twentie poynds a month, payd into the exchequer : that ded lie heauie, and mayd the meaner sort grone (though I know by the lo B. the rigor and extremitie, was a litle qualified.) Compare these with the

the Puritans recusants (who will beare no such burdens:) yow shall fynd in the Catholicks, more vertue, and less insolencie: more humilitie and less danger to the state. Compare them, with the recusants of France: and yow will think our gēlmen preasts, and ther ministers Capitains: our Catholicks vnwilling to offend, theys vnwilling to obeye: they defend ther faith with ther swords, and resist the magistrate; ours endure, and *scio, cui credidi*, is ther comfort, and bycause they haue no *bezares*, no *knoues*, no *Synodes*, no *boute seus*, they can not show yow a Mountauban, or a Mountpelier, nor anie other place of assurance and retrayt, but the Fleat, or the Gatehow.

And yet neither in these plottes and treasons, suppoied to haue bean against her person in Quene Elizabeths tyme; nor in that inuincible armado 1588. nor in that inuisible armie (the skarcrowe of London) 1599. nor in the warts of Ireland (whearin the Quene, required ayd of her subiects:) no men; ded show them selfs more forward, to doe her maiestie seruice: nor performed more readilie and franklie what was imposed vpon them: nor behaued them selfs, with more dewtie, and less dainger. The reason is playne; they that refuse to go to Protestant Churches, in respect of ther

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conscience: will far more refuse for conscience sake, to committ treason (a sinne of so highe degree :) and surelie they that regard so litle ther own bodies, for safetie and saluation of ther sowles; will never attempt or consent to anie desperate act, against the kings person, or the state of ther contrie; and by such greauous and crijng sinnes, haard the destruction of both bodie and soule.

Now yf yow will compare the greauances of Recusants, Preasts and Catholicks in England, with the Inquisition of Flanders (one of the long cawles of that vvarr.) yow shall fynd heare, moe burdens, and theirs not heauier. It is a rule taught commonlie, but learned of few, *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* The Protestants of E. condemned the name of Inquisition in Flanders, bycause ther brethren groued vnder that burden: and yet a more greauous load being imposed vpon ther contriemen, friends, and kinsmen at home, they taik no remorse, no compassion. ther for I will set before yow a glass, vvhich shall trewlie represent vnto yow, the face, form, and differenc of ther punishments.

Charles the 5. at Worms 1521. decreed against Luther, onelie Exile, and Fyre for his books. Anno 1526. at Machlin, he set down

The Inquisition.

dovvn this penaltie against Hereticks, or those that disputed of controueries of religion, or that kept books prohibited: for the first offence 40. shillings: for the second 4. pownds: and for the third 8. pownds, and perpetual banishment (as a proper remedie to remooue them from infecting others.)

Anno 1529. yf at a tyme limited, they ded not repent ther errors, nor disclayme them, he adiudged *Virus ignem, mulieribus fossam* (as the Canons ancientlie prescribed, and as *Calum* hym self vsed *Servetus*.)

Anno 1531. he confirmed the former acts, adding that these who kept such books, and defaced and puld downe images (*malis animis*), should loose ther goods. and yet he vsed some limitation. and for heresie, yf he vwear worth 6. l. and be conuicted of it, the delinquent should pay. 3.

And to avoyd all quæstions, 1555. he interpreted and explyned hym self, for the penaltie of thes lawes, with the aduise of Viglius. to take away all occasions that might hinder traffick: he limited that the penaltie against those that vwear receauers or abettors of such men; should not extend to inkeapers, victuallers, marchants or mariners. and yf the accusors ded slander anie iniuriouslie, they should be punished for

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for example sake. this though it wear generallie enacted, yet it was both intended, and accordinglie more seuerally executed against *Anabaptists* and *Liberines* (the greatest plagues of a state.) After ward king Philip 1555. set down instructions, rules, and orders, to direct (this court properlie erected for heresie, and to prevent secret conventicles the moother of sedition:) and these *regiaman lata inquisitorum*, I refer yow to see in the storie of Vander Hare. Whearin the king addeth no new ameracements, nor deuileth anie new seueritie: for as he answered Montigny, he purposed not to bring in the Inquisition of Spayne, but to reuiue his fathers lawes: nor to create anie new offences, but such as wear of old censured for offences both in the Church and state. And yet this proceeding ded work ill effects: bred in the Catholicks a commiseration of ther contriemen, and a greater obstinacie in the protestants.

Now look vpon E. match and compare them together: and yow will fynd the penalties far moe, and more seuear.

*The Lawes
of England
against
Catholicks,*

To acknowledg the Popes supremacie in *spiritualibus*, is *Treason*. To be reconciled, is *Treason*.

To refuse the oath of supremacie, is for the first offence *perjury*, for the second,

Treason. For preasts to come over into E. is *Treason*, (1585.) or yf they stay in E. 40. dayes after the parliement: or yf they wear mayd preasts sinc 1. Elizab. To harbour a preasts is felonie.

Yf yong students continue beyond the seas, and return not, and abiure ther religion, and show them selfs conformable: it is *Treason*. To bring in an *Agnus Dei*, beads, or crosses, is *premunire*. To bring a bull from Roome; or anie sentenc of excommunication, which toucheth the Quenes) is *Treason*.

To absolue or reconcile anie man, is *Treason*. He that commeth rot to Chuch vpon each sonday, was to pay 12. d. and be further censured: but afterward he that refused to hear ther prayers, and communicate, (27. Eliz.) is to pay for euerie month 20. povvnds: and he that can not pay it, his bodie shall fyne for it in prison. To depart owt of the realm withowt the Quenes licens, and not to return within 6. months after the proclamation, is an offense so great; that the offender shall forfeit his goods, and his lands during his lyfe.

To hear mass; is an offense fyned at 200. marks. Yf a man suffer his sonn or his seruants (being not a merchant) to go beyond seas; he shall forfeit 100. l. The

ar manie mo: but these ar too manie. now, whether of these, ar whipped with the greatest scourge? vvhether of these lawes ar most seuear, and haue most need of mitigation? the name onelie of Treason, is terrible, and overgoeth far the rigor of the most rigourous and capitall lawes of the Inquisition: and when I haue named that, I sleightlie pass ouer the losse of goods, emprisonment, reproaches, chaynes and fetters, exile, aggrauation of offences, (which vvould haue appeased the vvrathe of *Minos* or *Rhadamanthus*.)

But the rigour of the execution of these lawes, is most to be noted. The towre, vvas full of such *patients*, and new prisons erected to entertain them: and how they vvear at that tyme vied; yovv may best knowv by the exampl of dealing vvith maister Tregon at Lanson, of maister Rigby; of maister Christophor Watson, vvho perished at york, vvith the infection of the prison, as 13. other prisoners for religion ded, 1581.)

Add to this, the strict examination of Iustices; the proceeding of the high commissioners (the inquisitors in E.) the Harpies, at *visitations*, the promoters in temporall courts informing against them: pursuants searching the howses of men but

suspected: and how much they wear noted, that afforded anie charitie or almes to such persons. And surelie it is a thing I marvel at, that so great and wise counselors would not remember that note of *Tacitus* as a stayne of government; that *est esse delatores in republica*, vvas a certain *sumptome* of a diseased state.

I can not forget, tho I would Racks and torments; (the examinors of Fa. Campion, and Fa. Sowthwel, and manie others:) but *satius est pertransire calamitatem publicam*.

Therfor I may iustlie affirme, that the Catholicks in England, ded endure greater torture by the lawes of the realm: then the Geuses ded by the Inquisition, and had therfor need of more commiseration, (specialle vwhen puritans, Anabaptists, Arrians, nor Atheists wear so curiously searched for, nor so terrible afflicted.

But the great cross Crosslet, is this, exceeding all punishment, that they generalie gaue owt in proclamations 1591. and in the book of execution of iustice: that no man was punished for religion, no mans conscienc was examined for his faith.

A politick deuise, to blind the world with show of humanitie, and to preserve the opinion of the Quenes mercie vnstayned vvith anie asperson of creweltie: so
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they abuse the credulitie of forreine states, to aggravate the offences of preasts and prisoners.

But vvas no man punished for religion in Q. Eliz. tyme? 1. ther vvas a general pardon 1581. whearin, a strict caution and prouiso was, that the benefit thereof should not be extended to anie person in prison, or recusant, for matter of religion (and yet all malefactors, had ther part in the pardon.) and was this no punishment, nor partialitie? 2. the Recusants pay 10. li. povnds a month, in regard of ther religion: is this no punishment? is not this properly called Sawl-moonie? The Turk layeth not such a tribut, vpon the conscience of Christians, nor Christians vpon the Jewes. 3. the old prelates and Cleargie all dyed in prison, or in exile, for ther religion: and yet no man is punished, either in goods, or bodie, or libertie. what contradictions ar these? and how palpable.

The Ladie Morlie, La. Brown, and La. Guildeford. 1575. Hollinshead recordeth, as a matter to be noted, that thresuch ho. persons, wear committed to prison onelie for hearing Mass. and was this no punishment? leases wear mayd of two parts of diuers of ther lands: and was that no punishment?

But to conclude, the loyaltie of these Recutants might appeare to the king plainlie, by ther petition to his maiestie 1604. and manie tymes after: and euer by ther obedienc. and in Q. Eliz. tyme by ther protestatiō 1588. mayd at Ely whear they wear kept prisoners: by the offers they mayd to the Lord North (Lieutennant there:) by the iustificatiō of them by the letters of the Lords of the counseil, (and by ther submission sent to the Lords not withstanding all excommunications.) and so the Irish Recutants ioyning ther forces vvith the Quenes. 1600. at Kinsal, showed them selfs subiects *absolute* and not *conditions*.

*An answer
to the
questions
proposed in
the begin-
ning.*

Now it is tyme to draw to a conclusion, and deliuer vp an account and somme of all. and decide those quæstions, proposed in the beginning of this discourse, that Princes may know, how farr, and how safe, they may repose them selfs, ther persons, and states, vpon the loyaltie of Catholick subiects. First therfor, touching the last quæstion, *whether to be a protestant and a loyal subiect, be not more incompatible,* and more improbable: then to be a Catholick and loyal? It is in this discourse, largely demonstrated, both by ther first generation in Germanie and Geneva: by ther progresse in France, by ther proceeding in Hol-

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Holland, and by ther sedition in Scotland. The scope and end of them all was, to sett vp the doctrine of Luther and Calvin, to ruine the Church, and aduanc the desseins of ambition (oft intermingled with these sayre shoues of Reformation.) Now as yow can neuer plant anie new sect withowt faction, conuenticles, associations: so to faction and *schisme*, sedition is an accident inseparable; for therupon all magistrates and lawes are resisted, and that vvith violence (for no vvar is so passionate, as the vvars of conscienc.)

Remember the natiuitie of Lutheranism, the Huguenots, and Geuses: and how vvell they vvear maintained by the svord, euen from ther Cradle: so as they grevv to that height of presumption, that either they vvould vnking ther soouerains, and create them selfs Lords, as in Holland: or by tyting and terrisying ther Princes vvith armes and tumults, force them to pacification, as in France: or absolutelie depole ther Princes, (vvhen they became maisters and commanders of the state) as Scotland can vvell remember, and haith cause.

So likewise on the contrarie part, consider exactlie; vvwhether it be so impossible (as some by ther books haue misinformed

the vworld, for a Preat or a Roman Catholic to be a good subiect, vvhich question concerneth vs most.

Yt yovv look back to former ages, yovv shall fynd that from the Saxons, to king E. 6. To be a Catholick, vvas never taken as a barr to loyaltie; neither vvas ther ever anie opposition fovvnd in the essenc and nature of loyaltie, and the grovnds of the Catholick faith. And good reason; for that religion, vvhich most aymeth at mortification of the bodie, and best armeth hym to combate vvith sinn; and dispotheth best the consciences of men, to peace and devv obedienc; and is approoved by experience of all ages, least to embroyle and endanger a state vvith præsides, and treasons must needs (of all indifferent men) be esteemed more consonant and agreable, to allegiance and fidelitie, then that vvild and popular doctrine of the consistorians; vvich (ovvt of presumption and licentiousnes) vvil be confined into no circle of order, but ever contemning lawe, vvill domine and rule as *transcendens*, and talk vpon the iurisdiction both of preasts and kings in a kingdome.

2. Secondlie no man can denie, but that Spayne, Italie, France, the Empyre, and Poland, accopt hym the best affected subiect

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and least daingerous to the state, vvhich is
most deuoted to Catholick religion. And
then yf to be a Catholick ded bread and
ingender anie ill blood in the bodie, or se-
cret infection of disloyaltie, and so vveare
in regard of the state, *malum in se*, and natu-
rallie; then vpon the general tryall of na-
tions, in so manie ages, it vould haue bean
discouered and detected, for that imperfe-
ction. vvhich it never haith bean charged
withall, neither in all these foregen contries;
nor heartofore at anie tyme in England.

Therfor, seing it is not *malum in se* and
simpliciter, (as T. M. and parson Whyte,
haue in ther books scandalouslie slandered
that religion, and the Preadts and profes-
sors thereof:) seing, it can not be verified
κατα παντος, neither generallie of the pro-
fession (as Calvinism may iustlie, yf the
Lutherans say trewlie;) nor particularlie
of the persons professing it: nor originallie
and ordinarilie in precedent ages, neither
for doctrin or exampl, they can be taxed: I
may iustlie infer, they ar acquitted.

And surelie it was an error both vnciuil
and vndiscreat, to maik ther proposition
so general, and therby to maik the whole
Churche so odious to the people, and so
much suspected to the king: for we ack-
nowledg, that there ar of ther sect, verrie
manie

manie calm, and moral men, *boni viri, boni
cina*, of sociable nature, and not apt to blow
the coles of sedition, or persecution.

And so also the author of the execution
of Iustice, ded geue a good testimonie, of
the loue and loyaltie of diuers worthie and
noble Catholicks to Q. Elizab. (euen when
they had greatest cawle to the contrarie,
when oppressions and contempt might ha-
ue prouoked flesh and blood to mutinies.)
and though each man wisheth the propa-
gation, and aduancement of his own reli-
gion: yet in the means to procure it, and
in the course to seake, and in the manner and
order of proceeding to fynd it, this treatise
haith prooued, that ther is great oddes and
differenc between them. as the confession
and supplication of the preasts; the pa-
tience, and obedienc of recusants; the pietie
and doctrine of the Seminaries haue suffi-
cientlie prooued.

3. Now let vs compare, and parallel them
(to maik it more playne.) The Catholicks
generallie both in France, Germanie, and
England, at the *patients*, the Protestants at
the agents.

1. The one stand as defendours, the other
as inuadours.

2. Preasts sought to keape that *de iure* they
had, Ministers to get that they had not, (for
heretic

heresie being a separation from the bodie, could not enioye the libertie, or benefit of the Church, til it was mayd no heresie.)

3. The Preats vwear possessors: the ministers disseisors, and intituons,

4. The Catholicks obey *ex conscientia*, and absolute: the protestants *condicionaliter* and with a *quatenus*, and onelie for pollicie and gouernement.

5. Preats ar punished, not for anie *iniustice mharent*, but by imputation onelie, and not for trespasses, but for opinions: not for that which is, *de facto*, but to preuent *scidum* (yt Pritcian vwill pardon me.) But Calvinists, ar guiltie both of action, vsurpation, and treasons realie, as this last year *Lesieur* (president of the assemblies at Rochel,) *Haute-Fontain*, *Channier* (preacher of *Saumur* suffred in France. and P. Gombault, (all for real treasons) And Bischarcy in Pollaod, for attempting to kill the king, whome he wounded greauouslie (as he went to the Church.)

6. And there practises, and ther spirites differ as much: for as

7. They obiekt, the positions of some primate and disauowed persons, and words onelie: the Catholicks obiekt ther rebellions in dead, ther battels, ther real conspiracies, at Amboys, and in the wayle of Char-

Charmentras near Meaux, to surprize the king.

8. They reforme *per populum*, and tumults: the Catholicks by order, law and superiors.

9. They charg the Catholicks, with treasons nevvlie enacted, strayned, and vpon suspicion: contrarilie they ar condemned by ancient lawes, currant in all Christendom by consent, and by all ciuill and municipal lawes.

10. The Catholicks seak not to hinder succession of kings that ar protestants: as knox holdeth *nullus Papista in regno Lutheranorum aut Calviniano, in regis principis aut aliam quamcunque dignitatem euehi potest*

11. The Catholicks prefer a Monarchie: Calvin, Wolfius & Swinglius, an Aristocracie.

12. Yet the Catholicks, and our English protestants agree in this (as in manie other weightie matters) that princes ar not to be deposed: but the Calvinists hold the contrarie. and therfor maister T. M. by 3. sownd propositions, condemneth, both the practise of the Hollanders, Bohemians, Sweuelanders, *Parrans*, &c. and that iudiciously. 1. in his 6. reason. they who suggest a doctrine, of forcible deposing Princes, ar manifestly rebellious. 2. in cap. 4. they that vpon anie pretenc, denie the
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right of election or succession of Princes, or seditious (for tho he saith it of protestant princes, I taik it he meaneth all, and generallie, or els his gap is to wyde and partiall.) 3. when the king is established in his throne, who seduceeth the harts of subiects, and withdrawes ther obedience, ar traytors. applie these well, and commend maister T. M. for his playne dealing with Holland, and ther fellowes.

But I perceave they will obiekt that the state of England, euer since 13. Eliz. vpon iealousie and distrust had of Catholicks: armed ther magistrates with seuear lawes, against them (as the most capitall enemies of the crown:) and therfor haue branded the Preafts, with the blemish of treason, (as a character inteparable, and a stayn neuer to be taken owt.) From whence proceedeth it, that to be a preast, should be reputed as a poyson to corrupt obedience: surelie vpon certan new lawes, mayd in the tyme of Q. Elizabeth: whearby that is made *malum prohibitum*, which before was neuer iudged in England, to be *malum in se*: and that vocation was mayd Treason: which was wont to sit in the chayre of gouernement, and by whose oracles and decrees, the people was directed, bothe in Chancerie, Rolls, and all Ecclesiasticall courts. I haue before reuealed

reuealed ther reasons: and puldof all vlti-
 fards, which hyde the face of truth. After
 the fupre macie was enacted, and the Oath
 commanded: the next care was; to compell
 men to the exercife of the religion then
 eftablished. but the feminaries being ere-
 cted, the focietie of Iefus encreasing, and
 preafte being often lent ouer into England;
 then begonn fyre and fword to rage: the
 acts of 13. of 25. of 27. the proclamations
 of. 1580. and 1591. wear published againft
 the preafte and fathers. and no man is fo
 blynd, but may difcern, the occafion of
 this rigour, was for religion (being for hea-
 ring maff, and confelfions, which are the
 foundation and pillars of religion: and yet
 I confell the iealoufies, feares, and iufpicious
 of the tyme fet for ward thefe feneat cour-
 fes. for thes prouident Counfellors, ded
 think it neceffarie by the horror of lawes,
 to maik the feminaries of no vfe by barring
 owt of the realme the Seadifmen. for tho
 they ded obferue how far the zeal of the
 Church, had transported the preafte, that
 they preferred the Triumph of Truth be-
 fore ther liues: yet by all wordlie coniectu-
 res they probablie conceaued, that the na-
 me of Treafon (as a Medufas head) would
 haue amazed and terrified them: 1. bycaufe
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blott : 1. and speciallie, bycause thay thought it deprived and robbed them of the crown and glorie of martyrdome, the *trophies* of religion. 3. besides they supposed, that the loss of ther lives (in so infamous manner) the blemish and hazard of ther friends, and the punishment of ther partakers and abettors, would haue vtterlie discouraged them, from resorting anie more to England.

But this deuise ded not prosper, it prooued quite contrarie ; *ex cineribus phoenix*, religion encreased by persecution owt of the ashes of martyrs : so these politick lawes wrought not the effect, they were enacted for, and yet vwear verrie offense to all forrein princes, as *leges Draconis*, and *phalarism*, (for these ar euer held to be most godlie lawes, that ar least sanguinarie, and yet mantain order.)

Now forasmuch, as vpon worldlie respects, manie acts haue oft passed in parliament, to trie what operation and cure they would work in the state : and yf they prooued fruitles medecins, or as empirical purgations (too violent, fitter to kill then to cure,) then to be repealed. and bycause these prouisions and lawes against religious persons, ar prooued to be such : so they likewise *ex gratia specialis*, and ouer of his maiesties

A petition
and reasons
for mitigation.

maiesties gracious compassion, may bewel abrogated. for as they wear mayd for the feares, and supicions of that tyme: so by the grace and mercie of this tyme (when they at both neadles and causeles) they may with honor be cancelled (yf his maiestie shall please,) and the execution thereof suspended: to whote royall consideration, I most humblie offer. these few lines, as petitions rather then reasons, not for iustice but mercie.

1. It was ever held agaynst the wisedome and pollicie of this realme, to fetter themselves with too manie shacles of *treason* and dainger. and therfor as 25. Edw. 3. at the petitions of the subiects, the king ded declare and determin, what should be taken and iudged for a case of *treason* by the common lawes of the realme. so 1. Henry the 4. c. 10. it was confirmed and established, that nothing hereafter should be deemed *treason*, othewise then was expressed by E. 3. And albeyt diuers actions wear strayned, vp to be treason for a tyme (which vwear not within the list of 25. E. 3.) as H. 6. the taking and surprising of persons and goods in Wales, (so to stand for the space of 7. yeares onelie.) and 8. H. 6. burning of hovvles: and 22. H. 8. poysoning, &c. which of ther own nature, and simple wear
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not treason, (and therfor had a limitation of tyme annexed to them. yet prudently all such former acts vwear repealed and mayd voyd 1. E. 6. for a more indifferent and merciesfull proceeding with subiects; that the remedie might not be more dangerous then the disease; and that the Lillies and roles of the crown, might not be dyed with innocent blood. For both in the tyme of Ciuil warrs, and now (while this great controuersie of religion dependeth in England vndecided) such statutes open the gate, to let in ruine, desolation, and confiscation bothe into the prisons of preasts, and into the castles of the nobilitie and gentrie: as appeared by the exampls, and dangers of Arondel, Northumberland, Arden, Sommerfeld, and diuers others: and what ded happen to them, maye endainger all.

2. It will be a thing incredibill to posteritie, that so wise a nation would maik that to be treason, by parliement: vvhich so generallie, to perpetuallie, and so ancientlie haith bean honoured and approoued, by all lawes. vvas not preasthood vsed and exercised by the patriarchs, vnder the law of nature? established by Moyse, and the law of God? continued yet in Christ, and his Church, and never repealed by anie

new decree, vnder grace and the gospel
and yf (vvhich is impossible,) the Church
erreth in that poynt of preasthood, all ages,
all fathers, all counsels, all nations, haue li-
ued (as blindmen) in darknes and a *chaos*,
till Luther dispersed the mist: is it not li-
kelie?

Religion and preasthood, wear like Hip-
pocrates twins, born and bred, laughing
and weeping beginning and ending toge-
ther. for in Moyles law, the preasts, wear
the Inquisitors, *inspectores omnium*, *iudices*
controversiarum, *punitores damnatorum*: as
Iosephus l. 2. *contra Appion*, sets Down. yf anie
difficultie arise, *venies ad Sacerdotes*, 17. Den-
ter. and m. c. 44. *Ezech. Sacerdotes populum*
meum docebunt, *quid intersit inter Sanctum &*
prophanum, and so *Philol.* l. 3. *de vita Moysi*,
Iosaphat 2. *paral.* and the Sanhedrim it self
doth witness it. and the reason of the se-
maineth yet in the tyme of the gospel, and
ther for by the lawes of England, such re-
uerenc vvas euer showed to religious men:
that yf a bond man ded enter into a cloy-
ster, the law held it more reasonable, that
the king should loose his interest in the bo-
die, then to be taken ovvt of his order.
the like was iudged: yf the kings wards
should enter into religion: besides an alien
can hold no lands in E. yet yf he be a preast
he

he may be a bushop hear, and enioy his temporalties, as *Laufranc*, and *Anselm* wear (who wear never dennisons.) Besides the state reposed so great trust in them, that they wear, maisters of the Rolls, Six Clarks, nay oft, Chancellors and Threasorers of the realm. And therfor it was a course of *Summum in*, by new lawes, to punish men for an ancient vocation, and to generallie receaued (speciallie when the storme is overblowen.)

3 Besides, in Germanie, Charles V. punished Luther by Exile: and in Scotland by *Baratre*, banishment they punish hæresie. so they ded vviseilie distinguish Hæresie and Treason, as seuerall offences, by seuerall punishments.

4. Add also, that yf yow preiudice it so farr, to be a preast or religious man, as to think it opposite to religion: then both ther fault and ther punishment had bean more properlie marshalled in the rank of Heresies, then of treasons. so ded *Caluin* deal with *Sernetus* at Geneua: so ded the Bushop of London latelie with *Leggat* the Arrian, for Hæresie, is most properlie to be iudged by the Church, as appeareth in the preface of the stitut, 24. H 8 C. 11. that by the lawes and customes of this realme, and by the goodnes of the Princes, the knowledg

of Testaments, matrimonie &c. ofould appartained to the spiritual iurisdiction. and all Canons for heresie wear mayd and iudged by the Cleargie, as by 25. H. 8. C. 19. and by *Lincolns* constitutions appeared; and by the act 32 H 8. whearby preasts wear mayd iudges to enquire of the 6. articles. and the two iuridictions be distinct as D. Ridlie prooueth; and no prohibition can lie in the courts at westminster for matters of hæresie. Therfor these great and politick men, to avoyd infinite diisputs for religion; and to insinuate to the Q. there rare, prouidenc, and preseruatiõ of her, and the preuenting of manie daingers, (to vphold ther credit dailie with her, and show hovv much she neaded them) they ded think it best, to accuse them for treason.

And yet ther was an other cawse also, for ther was no Canon in esse, to maik them heretikes.

For yf yow vvil maik papists, to be a sect: it is so old a sect, as it will trowble the best Doctor, to fynd directly anie other beginning, them from S. Peter (of whose sect and fowld all the fathers desired to be.)

5. Lastlie and principallie, seing that as Sayles so Lavves, ar to be turned, and as occasion tyme, circumstance, and reason of state shall direct, either to be altered, or reuoked.

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reuoked. and seing also, as the case, so the
 cauvs of Quene Elizabeth, and his maiestie
 ar farr different (for the king haith no
 Competitor; no reason for such tealousies
 and fears as Q. Eliz. was subiect to: he hol-
 deth amitie and good correspondenc, with
 those forren princes the Q dowbted, the
 roles grow not vp now among thornes, as
 heartofore.) and Therfor his Maiestie may
 be pleased, to grant that owe of grace to his
 subiects, which other Princes haue permit-
 ted to ther subiects, for occasions of state.
 and to stopp and stay a litle the passionate
 humors of those that ar aduersaries to that
 grace: I humblie offer these few considera-
 tions, to qualifie and cool the heat of vn-
 discret zeal, and a supposition of incom-
 patibilitie.

For I dovbt nothing on his maiesties
 behalf, vvho haith bean euer constantly
 disposed to mercie, (if ther had bean no
 crooked instruments to hinder it) he who
 at first, tould vs, *My mynd was euer free
 from persecution, or thralling my subiects, in
 matters of conscience.* he, vvho in vvriting tould
 the vvorld, *Fateor me non libenter suspendere
 presbiterum, pro sola religione, aut celebratione
 Missæ.* he, vvho iudged that it can no way
 becom a man, to pronounc lighthe, sentenc
 in so ould controuerfie: what preast or reli-

gious man could appeal to a better iudge or expect a iudgment of more compassion he that sent to Franc to mediate for the peace of strangers: who can doubt, but he will as graciouslie deal vwith his ovvn: for charitie begins with it self, and tho they differ in religion, they agree in obedienc: ther bodies ar at the kings command, and sowles he vvil leau to god put them to be tryed on all actions, and seruces, he vwill fynd cawie to trust them. who vwould not then burie a quzition or 2. in silence, to saue the liues of subiects, and to be assured of loyaltie: for the greatestt offenc is verbal, but the hart is realle loyal.

If the rules of civil societie, and moral conuertation, may beare anie swaye: then I dowbt not, but mercie, and grace will ever sit in the highestt place of the throne, and becom it best.

*Reason for
the tolera-
tion of Law
the Lawe*

1. For his maiestie owt of his wisdom haith long obserued, that too seuer persequition, maketh men desperate, *non coarctat sed prouocat violentia.* and too heanie a hand vpon those, that the law casteth down: sheweth a will rather to oppresse the offendor, then cure the offence. It is the greatestt honor to a king that his mercie is more then his iustice; and that his benches and courts can witnes compassion. for he that

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setts open the prison doors, (in so wise, and gracious manner:) meaneth not to conquer the harts and consciences of his subiects by torments, but winn them, by mercie and vertue.

2. If yow respect the ancient Aphorisms of state: It haith bean ever in such cases the wisdom of the greatest princes, *punire raro*. It was ascribed, as a title of honor, to *Aug. Caesar*, *nunquam civilis sanguinem fuisse*. And great reason, for clemencie is a vertue royal, sometymes of as great pollicie as pietie: by cause yt begets loue, and loue breads loyalty: commands the verrie fowl, and layeth the bodie at his feet. A kings mercie kindleth fyre and zeal in the harts of subiects; pittie and toleration, as they maik the obligation of the offenders greater; so it maiks them repent to haue offended hym, who haith so obliged them. the reason is infailible in all noble spirits, *fidelem si putaueris, facies*: who eueracount, that the greatest disgrace, is to be distrustled.

3. It haith bean a common rule, and sel-dome fayles, being so trew, *malus custos duritatis metus*. and therfor *Tacitus*, could not describe the tyrannie of *Tiberius*, but he must declare the marks, and properties thereof, *ubi delatorum auctoritas magna, lese*

maiestatis crimen frequens obijcitur, ac boni casus, ne vivi inuadendi, vel tollendi pretextus est. and he addeth *frequens accusatio, & in quouis crimine a liuella, de laia maiestate principis.* Nothing sheweth more euidentlie, that *authoritas inclineth to tyrannie;* then the multitude of *promoters*, continual informations, and the name of treason mayd as a liuerie to put vpon all offences: and it fitteth well both the case of preasts, and of ther entertainers: Seneca (who liued vnder a Tyrant) fownd by experienc, that *frequens vndicta paucorum odium reprimit, omnium irruat.* and is not that an error? but it is a greater error to punish, all crimes, with the penal tie of treason. *Ultima supplicia supplicijs ultimis ponat; ut nemo pereat, nisi quem perire etiam peremptus interfit.* The speech of Abnar, to Ioab. 2. *regum. c. 2.* may not be forgotten, *Num vsque ad inter necionem huius micro desouiet? an ignoras quod periculosa est desperatio? vsque quo non dicis populo, ut omittat, persequi fratres suos?* it is both good counsell, and good exampl. Germanicus is noted to haue vveapt, vwhen he see the slaughter of the soldiers of the legions, that mutined; *non medicinam illud, sed cladem appellans.* And doe yow think that pittiedyed with *Germanicus*, of that there wear not manie, and great persons, mooued with
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the butcherie in England of some preasts? it is the propertie of commiseration, to be touched rather vvith the calamitie it seeth, then to examin the cavyse, it seeth not.

4. I must plead this, as an argument, (by exampl of a pagan Prince) for compassion. Marcus Aurelius, (tho the law was strict at Room, *Deos peregrinos ne colunto:*) yet he permitted toleration to Christians, as Tertullian in Apol. c. 5. Theodosius and Gratian, (the most Christian Emperors) wear content, to tolerate the Arrians, (enemies realie of Christ.) and Iosephus nozeth of Onias Megaita, the same permission, to continew brother hood for the peace of the state l. 14. c. 15. Antiq. The Venetians suffer the Iewes to liue emong them, as the king of Spayn ded the Moores, (till necessitie forced hym to expell them.) How much more reasonable is it to tollerate Catholick religion. the moother of the new religion: and the lawmaker and iudg hear-tolore of all religions.

5. It is a fals proposition, and proceeded from gall and Spleen, that Catholicks are vnsoeiable: that they can not liue vvith protestants in one common welth; withowt iars and tumults: and lastlie (vvhich is giuen owt, onelie to bread an exulceration
in

in the hartes of the people) it is not tolerable in a Christian and wel governed common welth, to grant toleration to papists.

Touching the first poynt, the better and more charitable sort of protestants, wvill not endure to hear so gross a paradox, which daylie is before ther eyes prooved false. for the Recusants in E. live emong yow, both peaceable and neighborlie, and without scandall. yow buy and sell with them: they performe all the offices of neighborhood, they denie no temporall dewties, neither tithes to ministers (tho for sacraments,) nor devvutie to magistrates, nor societie euen with puritans. and it is a fals Surmise, that Catholicks hold Protestants, as heretiques and excommunicate (askarcrowe, to keap them a sonder, and noorish diuision, as yf ther vvear a natural *antipathia* between them) But these Doctors, (who playe therein the *Montesquieu*,) remember not, that the Catholicks, deseru more respect, and fauor, by the law of Senioritie (as the right heys of the Church, disinherited of ther patrimonie.) The old Church ded leaue them ther priuiledges, and honor: she erected ther Cathedral Churches for our preasts, she endowed ther colledges for our professors, she builded ther alters for our *sacrifices*. Most of ther ancients haue ther

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ther baptism from her the Bibles, Cread,
and ceremonies : and surely it requireth
some better respect, for yf they had not
left them, yow could not haue fownd
them) and they hope, they shall not fynd
charitie buried in England : the conten-
tion is not general, and personal, but for
opinions : to yf yow force them not to be
insociabl by scandals and prouocations,
yow can not fynd them vsociable; tho
they meat not at Church, they may meat at
market. hitherto they haue liued emong
yow, and withowt iust complaint, and
should they be worse respected, yf the
king be pleased to show them mercie? re-
member, that *chaque a son tour*; forget not,
that sine k. H. 8. religion haith had his
chainges; and what God pleaseth to deter-
min, man must obey : they that ar novv in
Gloria Patri, may be hereafter *Sicut erat in
principio*. The Pure Calvinists will not en-
dure Bushops, therfor further not oppres-
sion, least yow fynd suppression when yow
look not for it. Continew amitie; and for-
get not, that the bonds of religious vnitie
ar so to be strenthned, as the bonds of hu-
main tociety be not dissolued.

I dowbt no mutiners, yf the king please:
for reasō of state is a kings priuiledg, which
may dispenc with ciuil ordinarie courses,
for

for his own safetie, and preservation of the realm. and he deserves not to be respected as a subiect, that vwill teak to bynd the hands of his Princ, and bar his beneuolenc.

6. And touching the last poynt, that religion will not permitt anie such toleration. I know and acknowledg, ther ar manie reuerend, learned, and good men (protestants in E.) who ar verrie charitable, not enemies to ther persons, tho to ther profession: with whome frendlie and safelie they may conuerse, withowt offenc: for how can ther be offenc, where ther is discreation? But heartofore most, of the ancient protestants ded defend, and desyre this toleration (whearat now mallice doth so iuarle. *V. banus Regius, locis, Theol. Deus non docet comburere errantes osciculos, sed sanare infirmos, pascere macilentos.* The same is Luthers opinion and assertion art. 33. *de non comburendis hereticis.* The same Musculus teacheth *loc. com. de heres.* and Osiander, *Epitom. Centur. 7.* the same Acontius mantaineth *lib. Stragem. Satanae. Dominus, non permittit hereticorum supplicia, (& definite declarauit magistratus non esse idoneos iudices dogmatum, & interdixit illis talis iurisdictionis usum.)* And to omitt Castalio, Chytræus in his Chron. Anno 1591. showeth how much the Protestants of Swecia desyred toleration. And

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D. Fulk l. de *successione Ecclesia*. reprooves the king of Spayn for too much austeritie and seueritie in that poynt. *Hispaniarum Rex unicus est, tam alienus a nobis, ut nec foveat, nec palam coire Ecclesiis permittat in ditionibus suis.* Calvin ded once hold the same opinion. and yow your selfs, generallie and continuallie obiekt, the Creweltie of Quene Mariës bonefyres: and yt yow so dislike it then, why doe yow like it now? but it is now against the law: and vvas it not so then, prohibited by law? but yet we clayme nothing by law, but appeal to grace. It is trew, that rigour to Catholicks, is the way to bread Atheists, vwhen they ar barred from all exercise of ther own religion they ar not easilie drawn to an other, and so they cast away all religion. and that was the reason, why (these wise protestants,) M. Lanoue, in his discourses, perswaded princes to grant toleration: vwhy Cassander, Stormius, held that opinion: why Belloy, in his Apol. and Melancthon consented to the like: why at first, the Geutes in the lov contries ded so vrgentlie sollicit the Religions Vried, and by so manie books: and vwhy Erasmus, *libro de sarcinda amabili concordia Ecclesia*, donec Synodus, laboured to prooue the necessitie of it.

7. I will geue yow examples; for matters of

of fact, mooue more, and at subiect to
 leſſ diſpute. At Hieruſalem, in the tyme
 of our Sauior Chriſt, ther wear two ſects
 much differing in religion, and yet ded li-
 ue ſociable together, and withowt offeſe
 either to the Church or the ſtate. The
 Phariſei, and Sadducei. and they vwear
 not men, of one religion, and differing
 onelic iu rites, and orders but they wear
 of oppoſite religions. No man will dowbt,
 but that the Sadduces vwear hæreticks, for
 they denied the reſurreccion, and the im-
 mortalicie of the ſoule (an artiel of our
 beleaſe, and the foundation, both of faith
 and hope.) that ther vvas oppoſition be-
 tveen them and the Phariſees, it is eu-
 ident, by cap. 5. *Acti, exſurgens Pontifex*
& omnes ſadducei qui cum eo erant, &c and
c 23. Scien: Paulus quod una pars eſſet ſaddu-
ceorum, altera phariſorum, exclamant,
&c. youv may then conclude, they vwear
 oppoſites, and ded contradickt one an o-
 ther. The Sadduces maintained the templ
 of Garifiſim, and agreed vvith the Samari-
 tans, and ſacrificed there (contrarie to the
 lavv, and to the preiudice of the templ at
 Hieruſalem.) The people fellowed the
 Phariſes, the ſcribes and Elders applau-
 ded the Sadducees: and both vwear here-
 ſies (as *Srgonius de repub. Hebreæ p. 538.* and
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Epiphanius l. 3. c. 11. doe testifie :) and all the cittie vvas deuided into these two sects, in the tyme of Herodes Antipas, (as Iosephus saith, *lib. 18. antiquit.*) and yet ded they liue, quietlie vvithovv discord, riots, or tumults.

3. To come home to these tymes, in Swizzerland, (tho Swinglius was violent, owtragious, seditious, and by armes sought to compell, the five pages to ther religion of Barn and Zurich;) yet by agreement, all is pacified; they hould ther priuate Churches in the particular tovvnes, and yet maintain ther liberties, the Common-welth of the Cantons, all contributions, confzderations, traffick and societie.

To pass ouer Swecia: that famous kingdom of Poland, and the Empyre of Mosko, haue thought it neadtull, to suffer the Religions Vried, in ther dominions: both to take away all domestical quarrels, and by a general vnitie (as a brasen vvall) to fortifie them selfs against the Turk. and shall England degenerate so farr from ther ancient glorie and vertue, as to show more barbarism then Mosko or more vnnaturalnes then Poland? (vvho reserue the blood of ther neighbors to be shed vvith honor in the feald against the common enemy,

emie, rather then by tyrannie to weaken the bodie.)

Germanie also may be an exampl that toleration is expedient, and that it is both possible and faisibl, that two different religions may liue together in peace. call to mynd, how quietlie the Catholicks haue suffred and conuerted with Lutherans, these 100. yeares, and withowt anie tumults. And surelie Charles the V. and Ferdinand, as they wear great and wise Princes, so wear they prouident and mercietull: ther growud was the same, the kings Maestie stands vpon, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* And therfor they ordered that *canceret utraque pars ne in suis dominis, quoniam ad sue religionis professionem cogat aut renocet, aut depellat, contra ipsius conscientiam, a religione quam profectur*. So saith Dietlerus, and afterward, confidentlie against those, that ar so preciselie scrupulous *nec hic motus eorum reprehensionem, qui putant, non nisi unam religionem tolerandam.* For conscientie can not be compelled, it may be perswaded.

9. How oft and how mercifullie ded the french kings, grant ther edicts of pacification. And to vwhat conditions, vveat they content to descend, onelie to preferue lyfe, and avoyd bloodshed of ther people.

Look

Look vpon the ould articles of peace, grāted for the libertie of cōscienc, let down by Laual l. 3. fol. 141. and by Pig. l. 6. c. 7. Poplonnier l. 18. a general freedom, to preach in all parts of Franc: to reuoke the condemnation of the admiral: to licens them, to hold ther torts (as pledges for ther assuranc: and that the king should pay the Germans, ther wages, who cam to ayd the protestants, &c. The present king Lewes, in Oct. last. 1622. vvas content to let Maiestie descend, to article vvith his subiects; onelie for *pax publica, and bonum publicum*. He granted, 1. that the edict of Nantes should continew, as yt ded in his fathers tyme 2. that the exercise of Catholick religion, should be reestabli- shed in all places, vvheat it had bean interrupted: and the like was agreed for these of the reformed religion, (except onelie Nerac.) 3. the Caluinists to be discharged of all iudgments against them for matters of religion, no iudges nor the kings counsell to proceade or purslew them, but to grant them an *ulterior non vult prosequi*. 4. all prisoners to be set at libertie. Rochel and Montauban to stand as townes of suretie: vvith manie other articles; vvhea- reof the Catholicks of England, vvould be glad, yf they ded but participat a share

of such grace. tho ther is some differenc: for in E. they pray for it, in France they wrested it: princes intercede for vs, arms for them.

10. Now to conclude all, seing the Turk permitteth Christians to liue freelie in his dominions; seing the President and exampl of the greatest Princes, in Europe, doth set yt forward: the Preats and recusants hope they shall not fare worse, bycause of ther patienc and obedienc, (which deserueth more.) Ther ambition is to be accounted good subiects to the king, and seruants to God: all ther platts and vvarrs ar against sinn, and the worlde: and ther onely suite is *hanc animam concede mihi, tua cetera iusto.* And to whome shall his maiestie doe this grace? to men that grone vnder the crosse of Christ: to men that euer prayed, as by his great grandfather he was right heyre to the roses vnited, so he might liue to inherite the kingdomes vnited. to which title no man better knoweth then hym self, who haue beane the greatest hinderers, and who the most assured frends (not onelie in his vertuous moothers tyme) but euer sinc. He knowveth vwho employed Beal in forrein vniuersities, to aduanc the howse of Suffolke: how Hales ded sweate by law and litl art to set forward

forward that title: what a volum S.N. B. ded write to maik a royal nest for the Phœnix: he knoweth likewise, who vwear the trevv Champions of his clayme, Sr A. Brown, the wise and nobl author of the -book against the E. of Leicester: and that Ajax whome no man euer durst encounter therein) maister Ploydon. all Catholicks, all welwillers.

Who now hope, that ther ancient, and tryed fidelitie shall so mooue the king, that he will refresh and eas them (as he may with his breath;) that they may fynd the vvarmenes and comfort of the sonn shyne at last, in England: and that he will grant ther humbl *supplication*, subscribed with the seruices of so manieworthie men, presented by men of Pietie, religion and obedienc: and signed with the blood of his royal moother.

So as he cam to the crown with peace and applause: he shall end the *catastrophe* of his dayes, with the general plaudite of the whole world. and this vvil follow (as the fruit and effect:) peace vvithin, and honor vvithovv: loue at home, respect abroad: and so maik a concord of discords, an vnion of diuisions, and a religious contention an both sydes; for deuotion and good lyfe, for peacable conuersation,

420 *Hierusalem, Order, and obedience.*
obedience to magistrates, excellencie of
learning: vvhich shall doe most good in the
state, and deserue the prize.

And such an *Vttopia*, onelie can he
make England; who shall deserue the Oli-
ue brainches for mercie and peace, and the
laurel for wisdom, gouernment, and con-
stancie (the crowne of all.)

FINIS.

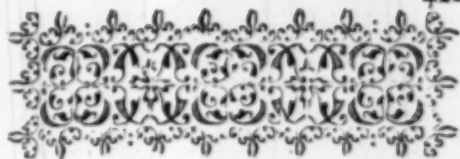
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THE III. PART.
THE TOVCHSTONE,
APOTHEOSIS LVTHERI.



HENCE I purposed, to haue ended. but I disco-
uer an ambush layd to
surprise me, and to beat
all my forces owt of the
feald. for I perceauē it
will be obiected, that the

*An Excuse
or Apologia
of Luther,
and Cal-
uin.*

heate and vehemencie of Luther, Swin-
glius, and Caluin (which I haue named
Sedition) was to be honored, and not wor-
thie of reproofe: bycause the zeal of gods
glorie and the truthe, ded kindl that tyre,
and those heauenlie sparks in them. And
touching Luther, they obiect, that he was
the *Elias* foretould to come in the latter
age, illuminated by the spirit, and raised vp
by extraordinarie vocation, for the refor-
mation of error and corruptions, renoua-
tion of vertue and good lyfe, and the dete-

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tion of Antichrist, (who had captivated, and seduced the vvhole world, in manie ages :) and therfor such a prophet, was not to be teddered within the compasse and rules of ordinarie professors. Yf therupon, he neglected the sway of authoritie, the titles of lawes, the glorie and maiestie of Princes, the peace of common welths : yow can not object and lay it more to his charg, then *Achab* ded to *Elias*, *Tu ne es, qui conturbas Israel*? The whole world was possessed with a *Luthargie* and *Frenesie*, (two extream diseases,) which could not be cured with Manna, and gentl remedies : a violent disease requireth strong purgations, and he is the tiew *Hippocrates*, that can applie the proper cures to the world so infected. gods power is not abated, he can raise vp at his pleasure extraordinary men, to deliuer his people, from *Egipt* and *Babel*, sinn and ignorance. and yf that be granted, vndoubtedly then was *Luther* the Angel of the west Church, and the messenger of God, to set vp the golden Candlsticks, and geue light to his people.

Stay ther, and pause a litle. how can yow maik me know, and beleaue, that *Luther* was gods purseuant, and not the harrold of Antichrist? They will hear produce, the Colloquie of Altenburgh, wherein pag. 30. and

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and 387. they tearm *Luther Angelus Dei, Elias*, and *tuba nouissima*, he that reuealed Antichrist, *multo illustrius quam unquam antea*: they will cite Aretius, that Luther was sent immediatly *vocatione Dei, eam totum mundum impijs opinionibus fasciatum esse constat*. they produce Caluin, who calls hym a singular *Apostle* of Christ, from vvhose Church they had there gospel, *Cum densis tenebris suffocata esset Dei veritas*. they vse Ie- vvells authoritie in his Apologie, that he vvas a man sent from God to lighten the vvorld, *veritas tum inaudita, cum Lutherus & Suringlius primo accessissent*. I pass ouer Fox (in Apocal.) vvho prooues hym the Elias: and Iohn Amsterdam lo. de prophet. Lutheri. But vvhat needs more? for it is euident that at the sovvnd of that trompet, *Suringlius* a Chanon of Constanc, *Bucer* a Dominican, *P. Martyr* a Chanon regular, *Pellican* a Minorite, *Oecolampadius* a monk of S. Brigits order, and infinit others like to the locusts, (9. Apocal.) vvho broke owt of all orders, ded sting the verrie sovvles of men, and fought the battel vnder that A, bad-don, ther Capitain; and to them vvas powre giuen, to hurt those men, vvho had not the sign of God in ther foreheads.) So I dowbt not but Luther vvas the first that broke vnicie, and as M. Wutton calls hym trewlie,

a scholler vvithovvt a maister, and a sonn vvithovvt a facher, (and so he must be either a battard Church man, or a miracle.)

But these vveare all protestants, the *Miraculous* of that *Achilles* of Saxonie: and he hym self, haith taught me, not to beleaue anie matter of faith, except *Sic dicit Dominus*, be my vvarrant. and therfor bycause it is a dangerous poynt, and subiect to manie deceptions and trōperies: prooue vnto me, that Luther vvas the *Elias* foretovvld, and that he had his vocation extraordinarilie and immediatlie from God: other wise your labour in vayne. for I remember, hovv Mahomet abused the vworld, vvith the name of the angel *Gabriel*: hovv *Theudas* blinded the Iewes: and hovv *Barcosba* drevv them to ther distruction, and prevayled to powtfullie and generallie vvith them; that *Akylba* one of the cheaf scribes and elders, reuerenced hym, as the trevv *Messias*, and applied, all the prophecies (proper to Christ) to the honor of that Impostor. And *Galatinus* (l. 4. c. 21.) notes yt as ther error, that these wise men ded not demand signes and miracles to approove his diuinitie. neither ded they, (till it was to late, that *Titus* cam to beseach *Ierusalem*) and then the peopl seing they had bean seduced, and that he could not work anie miracles, to geue them

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them hope and comfort for ther deliuerie,
they put hym to deathe.

So ded Muncer poſſeſſ the Bowers of
Germanie, as a man to whome God had
cōmitted the Sword of Gedeon. ſo (abowt
Luthers beginning, the age for new worlds,
and nev changes) Thekel, perſuaded *Iſ-*
mael of *Persia*, that God in the top of the
Anti-Taurus, had appeared and reuealed to
hym the reaſons he vſed to reforme ther
religion. And bycauſe, it is no daintie pra-
ctiſe of Satan, and that *Dauid Georg. Hacket*,
H. Nichols, and others, haue bean of late ſo
ſeduced: I am induced to ſtand vpon my
gard, in a caſe that concerns my ſowl ſo
nearlie: till I can ſift owt the truthe, vvhe-
ther Luther wear called in dead, as an Elias,
and an apottl, or he ded intrude hym ſelf?
and yf he wear ſent, onelie and not called,
vvwhether it vvas to reform the Church,
or to powr owt the vial of wrathe, and
ſcourg the vvorld? And vvhy I maik this
dowbt, I learned my leſſon of *Beza*, p. 86.
I. vmdicta cont. Tyran. Bycauſe (ſaith he)
God doth not novv ſpeak hym ſelf, nor
ſend his prophets extraordinarilie, vve
ought to keap watch of our ſowles, for yf
anie man think he is inſpired by the holie
ghoſt, and taiks vpon hym that authoritie,
(as called of God:) I deſyre hym to ſound
hym

hym ſelf well, and ſee yf he be not inſpired
 with pryde, and maik hym ſelf an idol to
 hymſelf, and conceaue ſuch an opinion of
 his own head. Let the vvorld taik head,
 leaſt thinking they warr vnder the banner
 of Chriſt, they fight vnder the Deuels
 Flagg. &c. wel then how ſhall we know,
 when God doth raiſe vp, and ſend ſuch
 men? Beza anſwereth, pag. 80. By hauing
 a ſpirit voyd of 1. all Ambition, 2. a trevv
 and perfect zeal, 3. right knowvledg and
 conſcienc, 4. and not vvorſhying Idols,
 or our ſelfs rather then God. Then theſe ar
 the marks by vvwhich (as Beza appointeth)
 I muſt examin Luther. and not withowt
 reaſon for they agree vvith that 2. Ep. S.
 Pet. c. 3. v. 3. in the laſt dayes ſhal come
 mockers, vvalking after ther luſts. and Buſ-
 hops muſt be chaſt 1. *Tim.* 3. v. 3. modeſt.
 not puffed vp in pride. v. 6. a Chriſtian,
 muſt be no raylor, fornicator, &c. 1. *Cor.* 5.
 v. 11. patient in perfecution, and deputed
 to death c. 4. v. 9. 11. 12. not contentious
 and authors of diuiſion 1. *Cor.* 1. v. 11. 13.
 (for Chriſt is not devided :) louing the
 charitie of brotherhood. *Rom.* 12. v. 10.
 patient, &c. (vvhear all the vertues of a
 trevv religious man ar ſet dovvn.) vpon ſo
 good grovvnds I vvill firſt examin Luthers
 vocation, his lyfe and pietie, his doctrine,
 and

and his charitie (the badg of Christianitie) and vvhath fruit, the vvorlde haith reaped for the sanctification of soules by hym. and as yow and I fynd cawte, so let vs follow and sapor hym.

First therfor touching his Vocation. Beza at Pouilly affirmed that he and his fellows vwear called by extraordinarie vocation: then must needs Luther haue the like honor, (vvhofne they all ack novvledged, ther lancein and ther guide.) but ask hym self his title? and he vwill tell yovv, *Ego Dominus nostri Iesu Christi indignus euangelista.* His voca-
tion.

In his book to king Henry; *Certus sum dogmata mea, habere me de calo.* I am an euangelist (vnworthilie in dead) and I haue my doctrine from heauen. I vvas the first, that brought light to the vvorlde. *Com. in 1. Cor. 1. Euangelium tam copios: nunc predicatum, vt tam clarum non fuit temporibus Apostolorum.* Ser. de destruc. Hierusal. the gospel vvas not preached so clearlie and plentifulle in the Apostles tyme, as it is now.

In l. de falso statu: *Ego Lutherus sum, alter Elias. & currus Israel.* Now to show yow the greatnes of this prophet, in l. contra Regem Anglia. *Christus spiritum mihi suppedistabat in signum.* Christ bestowed vpon me a great spirit. In vvhath kynd, and howv excellent? *Tanta est dignitas mea, quod ad doctrinam*
&

& ministerium mihi dimittis datum attinet,
 & quatenus vita ac mores cum illo congruant,
 ut nemo unquam (precipue tyranni) nec patien-
 tiam nec submissionem, &c. expectaturus est. De-
 bent me sanctum Dei organum agnoscere. Trew-
 lie that tanta est dignitas, would maik a man
 think it had bean the prologue of *Miles*
gloriosus. I will now therfor examin, what
 opinion the world haith, of so famous an
 Organ.

1. *Caluin in ult. admonit.* saith thus. *Volunt*
de Luthero intelligi hoc vaticinium, de Elia ven-
turo: qua falsitate non minus fadarunt Lutheri
nomen, quam Egipii Hieremie corpus & se-
pulchrum adorando. and in an other place,
Atq; ut Elia nomen Luthero concedatur, Sa-
crilega tamen temeritatis est, asserere ultimum
Eliam, ac si precisa esset Deo manus, ne quem vel
prastantiorum, vel parem postea emittat. yow
 see *Caluin* dislikes that title, as yf he would
 leaue his successors no credit, nor place, to
 erect the pillars of ther glorie; but vwould
 vsurp all hym self.

2. *Conradus Reginus*, deales more plainlie,
 in admonitione C. 6. scimus istos magnos *Tholo-*
gos, magnis clamoribus regerere Lutherum esse
Prophetam, quia & ipse immediate, & extra or-
dinem a Deo excitatus ad officium propheticum,
s. reparationem Ecclesie, &c. Ideoque sine exce-
ptione tanquam Prophetam audiendam, qui errare
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non potuerit, &c. Manifestum est illos, pessime de tota Christi Ecclesia mereri: qui Lutherum in catalogum Prophetarum referunt, tertium Eliam faciunt, examini & censura Ecclesiarum eximunt, libros ipsius regulam indicandi statuunt, &c. So hear at two, great Doctors of the pretended reformation, who geue ther opinions of his vocation; and how farr ar they from geuing hym the honor of Elias, and exempting hym, from the censure, and examination of other Churches? and from esteeming his writings, as the rule of faith, (as at Altenburgh they ded?)

Now touching his vocation; his ordinarie calling could not authorise hym with so extraordinarie a powre, as to reforme the church, and preach new doctrine never hard of before. (and whether there Apostasie, hærésie, excommunication, haue not depriued them of all vocation; learned D. Champerne, in his book of that argument can best satisfie yow.) And concerning his extraordinarie calling, to be an *Apostle*, an *Euangelist*; Elias; how can he maik it appear to the world and satisfie ther cōscienc that dowbte of it, whether God haich geuen hym such commission, and created hym so in dead. For his own vvords, want weight: and this must sowndlie be prooued, and the rather bycause Beza affirmed the like extraordinarie

ordinarie vocation at Poissy; and his opinion vvas impugned ther by Cl. de Saints and others, and in England by D. Sarauia &c. I hey that ar so called, must prooue it by externall signes and miracles, as Moyes and Elias ded: and yf he be an apostl, I may vrg hym with that of Tertulian *de prescript.* c. 30. *prohent se esse Apostolos.* He who called them to so high an office, could also geue them powre to approoue ther vocation, and induce the vworld to accept, honor, and reuerenc them by ther extraordinarie vworks, and the testimonies of ther supernaturall vertues. But Luther had no such calling, for that vvas euer inseparablie accompanied with miracles (as vvas manifested by Moyes and Elias.) besides it vvas not in vse since the apostles tyme. yf I can prooue that, I shall hitt the byrd in the eye: and to prooue that, I pray yow let Luther Iudg hym self. for he affirmeth the same proposition *tom. 1. VViteb. in c. 1. ad Galat. p. 376. and in loc. com. class. 4. c. 20* and so doth *Musculus locis com. p. 304.* so doth Sarauia against Beza: so doth *Piscator vol. Theo. Thes. 1. loc. 23.*

But to come home nearer to the purpose, yf Luther be Elias, it must onelie be *spiritu & virtute*: then let vs parallel these two, and see how well they ar matched for pietie,

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tie, and vertue. Elias (3. Reg. c. 17. at mount Oreb, would sequester hym self, in his cause from the noyce of the vworld, from the sight of vanitie, that he might eleuate his soule from mudd and earth, and maik yt more capable of deuine inspirations, and pray with more seruor of spirite, and break that vild coult (the lusts of the flesh) with fasting and prayer. and so ded S. Io. Baptist. Eldras, so ded. compare them, and ther actions with Luthers, and see yf they be suitable.

I must now therfor of force, paynt hym owt in his coolors, and draw his picture with his own pensile: his own mouth shall iudg hym. For Elias his retyrednes, Luther and he wear not matches: for Luthers mott was, solitarienes is an enemy of pleasure. he was as daintie as Caluin, he thought it an error to contristate the spirit; he reprocued and reiected S. Hierome for such inhumanitie. *lib. de seruo arbitrio. Hierom inepte scribit. quid magis sacri'egum, quam id quod scribit, virginitas calum, coniugium terra replet. Virginitie fills heauen, marriage peopleth the earth. and therfor, in colloq. conuinal. Nullum scio, cuius aqne infestus sum ac ei, tantum scribit de ieiunio, virginitate, &c.* Ther is no man I condemne more then Hierom, he doth so magnifie fasting, virginitie,

ginitie, &c. he ought not to be accompted among the Doctors of the Church, for he was an heretick.

Yow ſee this holie Euangelift, would not imitate Eſdras to faſt and pray ſo long: nor chooſe to liue in the wildernes, and deprive hym ſelf of all wordlie pleaſure. Therfor, tom. 6. germ. Witteb. p. 252. *lv. ad dominos ordin.* Teuton he doth inueigh againſt vowes of Chaſtitie, *quomodo fieri poteſt, ut tale votum non ſit peius quam vllum adulterium?* a good leſſon to teach katharin Bowr. But he maiks it better yet. *ponamus, quod aliquis coneat condere non, ut ſellus, an non iure vocari amentiam?* his reaſon he letteth down tom. 6. Witteb. germ. p. 171. *hæc res non eſt arbitraria ſen conſuly: ſed neceſſaria, ut omnis vir mulierem hab. ac, & omni mulier virum. eſt-que hoc pluſquam præceptum, magiſque neceſſarium, quam comedere, bibere, dormire, vigilare.* It is a matter of neceſſitie, that euerie man ſhould keap a wœman, and euerie wœman entertain a man: it is more then a commandement, and more neadfull then to eat or drink. nay hear hym ſtill, be not wearie of ſo religious counſells. *In mea poteſtate non eſt ut vir non ſim: tam parum in mea poteſtate eſt, ut ſine muliere ſim.* As it lyeth not in my power, to maik my ſelf no man: ſo litl alſo is it in my power to liue wi-
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thowt a wench. tom. 7. lat. Wit. p. 505.
*Cafte vivere tam non eſt in manu noſtra, quam
 omnia reliqua miracula Dei. qui calebs manere
 vult, ille nomen hominis à ſe deponat.* It is a
 miracel to liue chaiſte: and againſt the nature
 and humanitie of man, *impoſſibilia tentat*,
 he would work wonders. I could with eaſe
 repeate manie ſuch lectures of that heauen-
 lie apoſtl; of whome his brethren of Zu-
 rich gaue this worthie teſtimonie, in the
 confeſſ Tigurin, *Germ anno 1545. Nullum
 unquam mortalium, Luthero vel ſadus, vel in-
 ciuius præter omnes modèſtæ Chriſtiana ter-
 minos, in negotijs illibata religionis noſtræ, ſcri-
 pſiſſe luce clariuſ conſtat.* And yet ther own
 Sainct, *V. Strvinglius in Parameſi ad eom.*
Helu. cmit. fol. 115. ſhoweth the ſame laſ-
 ciuiouſnes: and confeſſeth hym ſelf, *aſtu
 libidinis, & carnis cupiditate ſic fuiſſe incenſum,
 ut carnis libidinoſa ſtudia animo ſuo verſauit,
 in iſ ſolis, omnes cogitationes inſumpſit.* Was it
 not high tyme, to grant that miniſters
 ſhould haue wiues, when theſe two great
 patriarchs wear ſo entangled: and ded exe-
 cut ther luſts with pleaſure, as naturall mo-
 tions, rather then ſtrive to mortifie and
 ſuppreſſ them. for neither of them, liked,
 or practiſed the faſhion of Elias.

And his counſel to others, was as wan-
 ton, and ſportfull. read his book *de vita*

coniugali fol. 147. si cui mulieri maritus frigidus: posse eam a marito (tam nullius preti homine) cum ipsius fratre, aut agnato proximo concubendi licentiam postulare, ad eamque permittendam, coniugum & seminare marium lege teneri. And the like sermon he preacheth fol. 152 part. 2. and in c. 16. Genes. fol. 95. about all his lectors, ther is one for which the ladies in England vwill persecut hym. *Non prohibitum est, quum vir plures uxores habeat: neque ego id hodie prohibere possem, suadere tamen noilem.* It is not prohibited by the law, but that a man may haue manie wiues. *Quacunque Patriarchas veteris testamenti, exterius fecisse legunt, integra ac libera esse, nec prohiberi debeant.* Is this a spiritual or a carnal lesson: be these reformers of lyfe, or patrons of vanitie?

Now obserue what excellent remedies, what vertuous counsells, he geues against sinn, tom. 1. lat. *Epist. ad Philip. fol. 345. Si vera gratia est, verum non solum peccatum ferto, Dum non facis saluos filios peccatores: esto peccator & pecca fortuer (sinn with a courage,) sed fortius fide & gaude in Christo.* *Ab hoc enim non auellit nos peccatum, etiamsi milies milies vno die fornicemur aut occidamus:* sinn can not diuorce vs from Christ, though we committ adulterie or murder a thousand tymes in a daye. Foras ther is no sinn
but

but incredulitie: ſo is ther no iuſtice but
faith. and therfor in 1. Pet. 1. fol. 4 42. *Aut quia
fide renati ſumus filij atque heredes Dei, par es ſu-
mus in honore ac dignitate D. Petro, Paulo, S.
Deiparae Virgini, &c.* By faith we are mayd
æquall in honor and dignitie, to S. Peter
and Paul and the Virgin Marie, *habemus
enim eundem theſaurum a Deo, bonaque omnia
tam largiter quam iſſi*, we haue all graces and
giſts as largelie as they. And for the fa-
thers, his inſolencie is incredibl, ſo vndiſ-
creatlie to contemn them all. No wiſe and
vertuous man, vvould uſe ſuch vvords,
papiſtam & aſinum, unum & idem eſſe: and
in an other place, I vvill taik aſſes that can
ſpeak, iudg yovv that are Sophiſters of Pa-
ris. But to tax, ſkorn, and reiect all fathers,
is a note of intollerabl preſumption. I vvill
omitt all other places (which vvould fill a
volume) in *conſummat. ſerm. cap. de patribus.*
Of Hierom he ſaith, *de fide & vera religione,
ne verbum in ipſius ſcriptis extat. Origenem tam-
dudum diſis d. noni. Chriſoſtomum nullo loco ha-
beo, nam eſt loquaculus. Baſilius nihil valet, totus
eſt monachus, ne pilo quidem cum redimerem.*
*Apologia Philippi omnes Eccl.ſia Doctores ex-
uperat. Tertullianus inter Eccl.ſia Doctores merus
eſt Cariliadus. Ciprianus martyr infirmus eſt
theologus. Auguſtinus nihil ſingulari habet de fide.*
Ambroſius nunc in Geniſum ſcripſit. Bernar-

duſ vincit omnes concionando, ſed cupidus ſuſat,
nimum tribui libero arbitrio, &c. It vvas no
 maruel, yf he profeſſed and bragged, *nemo*
proſus a me patientiam expectet vel humilita-
tem: for in that yow ſee, he is maiſter of his
 word. I paſſ ouer his gifts and rare excel-
 lencie in Rayling, (whearin he is fans pear.)
 and in lying: (hauing collected owt of hym
 and Caluin 50. places of moment, and ma-
 terial, whearin they ſlander the Catholick
 religion.) as de capt. *Babylon. c. de patient.*
Babilonia adeo fidem extinxit, ut impuſente
fronte deſiniret hæreſim eſſe, ſi quis fidem neceſſa-
riam eſſe aſſereret. which was as perfect a lie
 as Caluin mayd l. 4. c. 7. that in the Po-
 pes diuinitie *primum caput eſt, vultum eſſe*
Deum: doctrinam de reſurrectione, fabulas eſſe:
qua de Chriſto ſcribuntur, eſſe impoſſuras. Now
 examin the worth and valew, of this Pro-
 phet, by the fruits and benefit, which the
 world haith receaued by his doctrine, and
 exampl. *Ex ſuctibus eorum cognoſcitis eos.*
Erasmus, in ſpongia aduerſus Luit. ſaith he,
Lutheranos video multos, Evangelicos multoſque
paucos. Circumſpice mihi populum iſtum euangeli-
cum, & oſerua num minus illic indulgeatur luxur,
libidini, & pecunia. quam faciunt illi, quos detesta-
mini. profer mihi, qui in iſtud Euangelium, ex co-
melle core obruiunt. ex impudico reddiderunt vere-
cundum? Ego tibi ſtendam, qui facti ſunt ſcriptiſ
dete-

deteriores. *Quis unquam vidit in eorum concionibus, quemquam fundentem lacrimas, aut ingemſcentem?* And Luther in ſelf confeſſeth as much in poſtil. *Super 1. Dominic. Adventus pag. 623. Mundus ſic quotidie deterior, ſunt nunc homines magis vindictæ cupidi, magis avari, magis immodèſti & indisciplinati, multoque deteriores, quam fuerunt in papatu. Aurifaber pronounceth from Luthers mouth, that poſt reuelatum Euangelium, virtus eſt occiſa, deuotio pulſa, &c. And Calvin complayneth, thât omnes fere ad corruptelas degenerant. and Smidelin ſaith, ut totus mundus agnoſcat eos non eſſe paſtiſta, nec bonis operibus quicquam fidere, illorum operum nullum exerceant penitus. I will conclude vvith Bucers teſtimonie, l. 1. c. 4. de regno Chriſti. *Maxima eorum pars viſa eſt, id tantum ex Euangelio Chriſti petiſſe, ut ingum qualisunque diſciplina, penitentie & religionis qua in papatu reliqua ſunt abijceret, proque carnis ſua arbitrio ac libidine inſtuerent omnia. Nec pauci eorum qualemunque euangelij predicationem eo tantum receperunt, ut in opes inuaderent Eccleſiaſticas.* Yf yow deſyre to know the moſt probable cauſe, of this confuſion, ſinn, and impietie? Luther hym ſelf, hauing ſet open the port of libertie, and broken down the hedges of order and diſcipline: could not ſo eaſilie ſhut it again, nor geue lawes to them, that come in.*

When a multitud haith learned the way of pleaſur, yow can hardlie reſtrain them: yow bet them from confeſſion to preaſts, from pennance, from faſting; and aduanced the reputation of *ſola fides*, (as a meſecin for all diſeaſes.) by ſo manie new quæſtions of faith, they haue buried charitie: and by ther diſputes of religion they haue frozen vp all deuotion, and reuerence of pietie.

2. So, hauing ſhewd yow, how well and effectually Elias haith reſtored and reformed all things, let vs examin how wel he haith detected *Antichriſt*, and how like a Prophet? or vvwhether he haith not miſtaken hym ſelf, like a head troubled vvith *vertigo*, and giddienes.

Fiſt conſider well, how we are to know *Antichriſt*, and vvwhat characters and marks, the holie ghooſt haith ſet downn, that the Church might not err in ſo vvweightie a matter. 1. his title is *the man of ſinn*, and *ſon of perdition*: 2. an aduerſarie to Chriſt, 3. extolled aboue all that is called God, or vvorſhipped as God: ſo that he ſitteth in *templo Dei*. as yf he wear God. 4. his coming is in all povver, hving *ſignes* and vvonders. 6. he muſt be reuealed before the reuolt. 2. *Theſſal. c. 2. 7.* and *S. Iohn, 1. Ep. c. 2. v. 22.* addeth this. he is a lyer that denieth

His reformation and
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nieth Iesus is not Christ : this is Antichrist, vvhich denieth the father and the sonn. 8^o and as Daniel described hym, so *Apocal. c. 13. §. 1.* he must haue vpon his head the names of blasphemie. and §. 7. a powr to make barl vwith the Saints ; he must haue horns like the lamb, but the mouth of the dragon. and *c. 19.* the beast and vwith hym the fals prophet (vvhq seduced them that took the character of the beast: these tivo, vveare cast alieue into the pit of fyre and brinstone.

Now examin, vvhoe doth bear these badges, and to vvhome ar they most proper. The infallibl and certan mark is ; to be opposite fullie to Christ, *ex diametro*, *Antipodes*, most contrarie (more then a diuersitie or differenc.) king of a kingdom, opposite to Christs : a prophet and lawv maker opposite to Christs : an enemie both to his preasthood, to his testament, to his royaltie, to his name Iesus, and to the sonn of the liuing of God. And one that striueth vwith Christ both *uter esset*, and *uter imperaret*, and so *persequitur* his saints, and servants. It is not vice, nor superstition, nor a false vvorship of God: nor errors of opinion, that must reare vpthe vvals of this Babilon ; it must be, kingdom against kingdom, and crown against crown. and

contain and expreſſe the full povver, pride, and mallice of ſatan. Whether then can this be trewlie and properlie applied to the Pope? No in dead, and I vwill ſhovv my reaſon.

1. *Luther contra Anabaptiſtas.* Ego dico ſub Papam eſſe verum Chriſtianiſmum, imo nucleum Chriſtianiſmi, & multos pios. Fatemur apud Papiſtas Eccleſiam, quia habet baptiſmum, abſolutionem, textum Euangelij, &c. in 1. Galat. ibi verum concionandi munus, verus Catechiſmus, ut ſunt oratio dominica, decem precepta, ſilei artic. And whitacre ſaith, hae ad nos ab iſto duceverunt. Iunius confeſſeth, in fundamento eſſentiali convenimus, *controvers. l. 3. c. 12* In iſto ſatana, tenuit Eccleſia illa precipua fidei fundamenta ſaith Zanchius. Sarania, de gratiis miniſt. p. 40. ſaith, Eccleſia Romana, Eccleſia eſt. ipſa eſt mater noſtra in qua & per quam Deus nos regeneravit. And *manet* iſta ordinatio, vocatio, miniſterium verbi. And ther is reaſon for to acknowledge it, bycauſe otherwiſe the miniſters haue no calling, nor can prooue it. and yf ſhe be the moother Church, an *filia* demorabit matrem? no ther is in that Church yet remaining, *verus baptiſmus, verum Sacramentum, vera clauſes ad remiſſionem peccatorum.* The Buſhop of Elie, calſ it *membrum, ſed non ſanum*: and Calvin acknowledgeth as much, but calſ it *Eccleſiam ſemirudam,*
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deformem, and yet *Ecclesias Christi*, Resp. ad *Sadoletum*. And l. 4. c. 2. §. 11. *Instit. fœdus Dei apud eos inuiolabile permansit*. And whittacre faith, *est apud illos quoddam ministerium, & aliqua verbi predicatio, qua valet nonnullis ad salutem sine dubio*. Lay these together: and put them into the ballance.

The Church of Room, by the confession of ther cheat aduersaries: holdeth entirelie baptisme, the Lords prayer, the ten commandements, absolution, *fræus Dei* (the ark of couenant) both the testaments, the thre Creads, the fovvr first general counsels, the fowndations of faith, ordination, vocation, and the preaching of the word. Nay I will add one, no small pillar: they teach and mantain the trew doctrine of the blessed Trinitie, which no protestant Church dôth hould inuiolatelie (but one- lie the Church of England.) then vnder whose banner doe the y fight? vnder whome is the Pope *Vicarius*? at vvhose alter, and to whome, doe they offer sacrifice? yf to God, to Christ his sonn and ther redea- mor; then surelie, vve must look for an other Antichrist, he is not hear to be fownd. wresting of words, and straining of some texts of the Apocalips vwill not serue your turn. Luther at first denied the Apocalips to be Canonically scripture, as appeared by
his

his preface vpon that book, (which is now suppressed.) And to fownd a new doctrine onlie vpon arguments drawn from prophecies, and the Apocalips (so obscure and hard to be vnderstood) whether it be of sufficient force, I leaue it to the learned to resolu. Onlie this I must say, S. Iohn receaued the Apocalips, from the Angel of God: and when Brightman (the Puritan) can prooue, that immediatlie from God or infallibly the trew tence thereof vvas reuealed to hym: then will I subscribe to his bable *Apocal p̄s Apocalypsos.*

2. But to come nearer to the matter, and omit trifles. Melancthon (the Pronotharie of the confession ot Aulpuig) in his common places, Basil. 1562. confirmeth me in my opinion p. 164. saith he, *in monarchiis exteris, gubernatio prae ceteris spectabat, ad cuius & honestae societatis distinctionem, etiam fuerat ignota religio: 1. sed in regno Christi, leges perpetuae & praecipuae regni sunt, de nouo cultu contumelioso in Christum, &c. 2. (saith he) finis principalis eius regni, est d. lere nomen Christi: & hoc ipso pretextu, conditum est regnum, quasi glori Dei interfu, extirpari nomen, & doctrinam Christi. Tale est regnum Mahometis* So hear is law against law: a fals God, against a trew god: the Alchoran aduanced aboue the Gospel. hear they at *ex diametro opposita*: and

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and all for the glorie of the God Maozim. but go on a litle further, and Melancthon will make it plainer. 3. *Lex ipsa Mahometis est manifesta contumelia erga Christum.* 4. *Deinde est mandatum de lairacino: quia iubet interfici eos, qui credunt Christum esse filium Dei: precipit ergo propagari suos errores gladio.* And all these things he saith wear foretould by Daniel c. 7. of the litle horn. and so he concludeth, *in eo regno nec lex est a Deo, sed diabolicus furor:* and his end is not ciuil gouernment, but the propagation of his Alchoran. And therfor, this being so plainlie and distinctlie set down, Slusſelberg saith, that Melancthon in manie things fel into error after Luthers death, and leamed to dowbt whether the Pope was Antichrist.

But I will show yow as learned a piller to leane vpon; and a protestant of fame, (for it is vain to alledg fathers, as I learned by D. Sanders.) Zanchius, in his anwer to the Artians 2. tom. 7. p. 875. alledgeth in defense of the Pope, *constat, ex doctrina de Deo, Christo, forma baptismi retenta, Ecclesiam illam non penitus a Christo Apostasiam fecisse. agnoscit adhuc Christum, pro filio Dei, rege suo, & saluatore: eius legibus se subiectam profutur: adhuc publica sui regis insignia (licet conspurcata) baptismum nimirum & canam retinet, & veneratur.* But the Pope haith added images,

ges, &c. and withowt Gods warrant, haith deuised a new worship, *ex quodam ex a cum honoris studio*. To that obiection he answers, he is to be reprehended for it, but he is no Apostata: for all that *multas coimpetit in Turcam, qui est ex diametro, in duello contra Christum*, and an Antagonist. and his reason is strong for (saith he) *Mahomet, veram & plenam apostasiam, cum suo populo fecit: abrogans quacunq; Christus instituit, predicationem Euangelij, baptismam, canam, invocationem in suo nomine: & contra, reuocans quæ abrogata erant à Christo, doctrinam legis, circumcisionem: negat eum filium Dei, & verum Deum esse, & rifi Trinitatem*. And therfor, he making hym self aboue all Gods, sets Christ an inferior Prophet vnder hym. But Mahomet sits not *in templo Dei*. That ded a littel shake Zanchius, yet he answers, that all the fathers confessed, by the name of the temple, the temple of Ierusalem to be vnderstood and not impertinentlie (for ther Mahomet haith long bean worshipped.) And at this day, ther is a Moschee called, *Temple de la Roche*, builded by Homar, Mahomets nephew, in the verrie place of Salomons templ: ther Maozim is worshipped; and all pilgrims, that go or come from *Meecha*, taik that in ther waye, as a holie place. And admitt, it wear to be vnderstood, *sedet in templum*

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templum Dei, id eſt Eccleſiam Dei: it may alſo ſtand with Good cōgruitie. For Mahomet ſe *ſolum dicit eſſe Eccleſiam*, & *ſe ſolum eſſe caput, a quo regitur*. He is the Princ of the Damned Empyre, and by his power, all the Candlticks of the Churches of Iurie, Alexandria, Antioch, Aſia, Grece, Corinthus, ar remooued, and the lights quite extinguished by hym: and therin is ſet vp the abomination of deſolation *in loco ſancto*. and yet he ſits alſo *in Eccleſia Dei*, and whear Chriſt is worhipped. For in the Church of the *Sepulchre*, at Hieruſalem the Chriſtian Marronites Georgians, Æthiopians, Grecians, Latins, haue ther alters and offer ther ſacrifices, to God the which the Turks, for ther profit, as the Soldans and Saracens before thē, haue ſuffred and permitted.) So as in that cittie bothe God haith his church and the Deuel haith his chappel (and ſouerainlie comanded for manie hundred years which is all they ſtād vpon. And contrarily for manie ages, no mā haith showed a more fatherlie care, to reſiſt his tyrannie: no man haith more ſollicited the princes of Europe with vnitied forces to expel and reſpreſſ that Nimrod, then the pope. As appeared by the warres in the Holie land, by the ſupport of Malta, by the ayd of Hongarie, by Tunis and Algieres, and by that

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memorable battel of Lepanto. And for the encrease and propagation of Christs glorie, he haith also erected seminaries for Grecians, Asians, and Iewes: that the world may discouer who is the Antichrist.

3. My third and last reason is. that they who ar so desirous, to create the Pope Antichrist: can not agree among them selfs when he fell so fowl, as to deserue the name of Antichrist. They can not name the person who was *stella cadens de celo*: nor the age and tyme: nor the errors he ded fall into, wherby he was so iudged: nor produce anie accusers, *testis fide digni*, to iustifie the same. ask Caluin when the defection was, he answers *multis abhmi seculis*. S. Francus saith presentl e after the Apostles. Napper, saith Antichrist ded beginn his raign abowt 313. in the tyme of Pope Siluester. Melancthon, that in Sosimus tyme, the defection appeared 420. Beza assigneth Leo the Pope 440. Fulk nameth Boniface (and so doe willet, and downam anno 607.) Bullinger nameth Hildebrand (Gregor. 7.) anno 763. Whitaker, that Gregorie the Great, was the last pious, and trew Bushop, Parkins, abowt 900. years sinc. *Hospinian ab anno 1200. Dancus*, abowt 574.

So then, the vncertantie marks ther iudgment erroneous: for all can not say
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trew: and who ſaith treweſt they can not define. We ar not bownd ſaith D. Whitacre, to answer in what age ſuperſtition crept into the Church, by whome, nor at vwhat tyme: and yet, in his answer to D. Sanders, p. 799. he ſwears, by hym that liueth, that the Pope is Antichriſt.

4. But I wonder that they mean to maik the Pope Antichriſt: and the trew Church to be in Papatu, and yet Papatus not to be in *Eccleſia*. A ridl; my dull wit can not apprehend. but ſeing I am ſure of this, that owt of that Churchall hzretikes ded go: that *exire*, teacheth me that the ſanctuarie ovvt of vvhich they fled, vvas the Ark of Noah, the Church of God.

5. One thing, yet mooueth me much c. 19 the beaſt, and with hym the falſ Prophet ſhall be caſt into the pit of Hel. hear at two, diſtinct perſons (and ſo named by the ſcriptur, and the one ſubordinate to aduanc the other) and diſtinct callings. yf the Pope be the beaſt, then who is the falſ prophet? and contra yf he be the falſ prophet, vvhoe is the beaſt, vvhoeſ character the falſ prophet ſhall ſeduc the world to talk, and to adore his image?) ther can not betwo Antichriſts, at once: and whether the Pope; or Mahomet ſhould be he, the Marks and notes will beſt teſtifie and yf
yow

yow compare 39. Ezech. vwith the 19. of Apocalips, it will geue yow good direction; (so yow fall not vpon Sergeant Finch his rock.) but vndowbtedlie, his description there, will show yow an Antiochus, an Antichrist $\chi\alpha\rho' \epsilon\zeta\chi\iota\nu$, and such a one, as will maik a conquest with his sword, of sowles and consciences; and onely *Voritus* against Bellarmin, acknowledged yt was neither a matter improbable, nor impossible.

But how can yow prooue, or assure me, and with what varrant of scripture, that no such Antichrist shal come. *De futuris contingentibus*, I think D. Whitacre, doth aduentur farr, to engage his sowl, by such an oath. But the Euangelist hauing set down his name, (the name of a particular man 666.) he that can maik *Apocalypsis* *Apocalypscor*: vwhy doth he not, or can he not detect that Pope, and reueal to whome that name vvas deuy?

The voca-
tion of Lu-
ther by the
deuill.

3. As by the first argument, yow may discouer his vanitie; and how greatlie he differed from Elias: and by the second, his calumination prooueth hym an Impostor: so this, will vnmask, and vncase hym, he shall appear in his proper Colors. His *vocation* they call extraordinarie: and so it is in dead. For it vvas by conference vwith the Deuill, as he confesseth hym self *l. de Missa*

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*privat. contigit me sub mediam noctem subito
expergeſcens: ibi ſatan mecum cepit huiusmodi
diſceptationem.* So the deuel and he diſpu-
ted. D Fulk, and Chark, interpret it, to
haue bean a ſpiritual combate in mynd,
and ſuch a contemplation as good men ar
ſubieſt to, (as Chriſt had, S. Paul, and
others:) and no bodilie conflict and con-
ferenc: 1. whether theſe reaſons cam
from the deuel, by bodilie conferenc or
inward ſuggeſtion, all is one, ſo it cam
from the deuel. 2. but hearby Luther
maiks it playne, when he deſcribes, the
deuels voyce to haue bean, a great baſe
voyce, and ſo fearfull that yt mayd hym
ſweat, as he confeſſed (by *hac illo dicente*)
3. beſides he calls hym (Doct̃or Perdoct̃e:)
which yf it wear a dreame onelie (as Do-
ct̃or Sutchiſ imagined) it ſhowed that he
was ſubieſt to Philautia, and arrogancie,
to conceaue ſuch a title and ſalutation. but
it rather argues a perſonal conferenc, by-
cauſe he confeſſeth ther, that Oecolompa-
dius and Emper wear ſlain by the like en-
counters (and ſurelie neither of them dyed,
by ſpiritual temptations nor by dreames.)
yf yow read Luthers own words owt of the
old and firſt edition of Iene: they will con-
firm yow much, for ſo Hoſpinian in *hiſtoria
Sactament.* recited them.

But Luther hym ſelf, calls it *diſceptationem*, and neither a dream nor a temptation. And yf it wear a ſpiritual temptation; that excuſeth not Luther, for he ycalded to the Deuel, ſo ded never holie Iob, nor anie ſanctified vaſſel.

Baldwinus a Lutheran, writes of purpoſe a book of that diſputation 1605. and he confeſſeth it vvas a real truthe, and not a dream (as D. S. dreamed:) and that it vvas not ſpoken *hyperbolice*, but *hiſtorice*. But he excuſeth it, with a ſhift and euafion. Luther (ſaith he had before abandoned the maſſe: and this *dialogue* the *déuel* mayd, to call to Luthers remembranc his old errors; and that he had ſayd Maſſe ſiftene years, and ſo to driue hym to deſperation for ſo great an offence. and that therfor he ded ſpeak alwayes *in preterito not preſenti*. Theſe ar but Skarcrowes and conceipts: 1. for in the text and words of Luther, ther is no mention of diſpayre, nor paſſage of anie words to induce hym to deſpayr. 2. the deucl reprooueth Luther and the papifts for thinking Chriſt vnmerciful, and therfor ſeeking Saints for ther mediators. this is ſay wyde from Baldwins mark. It rather prooueth that the conferenc vvas before Luthers fall; for otherwiſe it had beana dart caſt at rousers, and an idl temptation,

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bunt,

yf Luthers had bean bean all readie so perswaded (as after his fall he was.) Besides, yf it wear after that Luther abrogated the Masse, as Bald. saith) then his *sola fides*, was a sufficient buckler, to ward anie blow the deuel could geue hym; ther was no imagining of drining hym to dispayr, vwho had professed that neither sinns, nor defects, nor Idolatrie past, could be causes of his damnation, but onelie incredulitie. and as fals is it, that the deuel spoke alwaies *de preterito*, and not *presenti*, for he saith, *vanior est hac vnctio tua, quam baptisatio saxi*, and so persvades hym to contemne his vnction, which is spoken *de presenti*, and nothing touching *d speration*. read the words, and weigh them, and all the *deuels* arguments against the Mail: and yow will then fynd your own error.

I vvill maik it more playne that it vvas not a spiritual, but a personal combate. Io. Manlius a Lutheran *loc. com.* *Luthero sapius spectra apparuerunt*: and that vttualhe after such apparitions in the night, his head aked: and at one tyme, he vvas almost, in a *trans* after yt. And Luther, against the Swengfeldians, (who bragged of ther reuelations) he vvittnesleth of hym self, *vidi spiritus & forte plus quam ipsi vident, mira animus*; so it appeareth, these

perſonall conferences between ſatan and Luther wear neither ſo rare, nor ſo incredible. *Iob. Regius l. Apologet.* obiecteth vnde *conſtat tibi malum fuiſſe ſpiritum? qui* Luthero *hoc dixerit: & poſito, licet malus genius fuiſſet, non ſequitur ſtatim eum mentium fuiſſe.* Hear is a Champion, that fights with an other weapon, and by cauſe he dowbts, whether he vvas *malus genius*: let hym hear his half-brother, *Hospinian, in hiſtoris Sacramentum.* *Lutherus* (ſaith he) *narrat ſe a diabolo eductum eſſe; quod Miſſa priuata res ſit mala, & rationibus diaboli conuictum, aboleuiſſe eam.* And Luther confeſſed, that he vvas haunted and affrighted by ſatan perſonallie. *Ep. ſt. ad patrem tom. 2. VVitteb. fol. 169.* and Melancthon ſaith as much, in his preface to that 2. tom. and ſurelie *Regius* ded never read, that God vſed to reform the vworld by the oracles and ſeruiſe of deuels, to reform ſinn by the inſtruments of vice, or to teach the truth by impoſtors. the Deuel vvas ſuffred to trie the vertue and patienc of *Iob*, and the Saints: but vvas never ſent to catechiſe them. Neither ded euer ſuch ſpirits appear to *Daniel*, *Eſdras*, and the old prophets. And vvhy may vve not think that Luther vvas taught by ſuch a ſchoolmaſter; for he obiecteth that *Caroloſtad* had his expoſition of *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, from the deuel.

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uel. and in *loc. rom. clausse* 5. *puto non uno dia-*
bolo obsessum fuisse illum miserabilem hominem
Carolostadium. He had bean in the ouen,
 hymself, and so knevv vvhath it meant: and
 therfor *Alberus* sayd the deucl posseded
 corporallie that Carlestad: and *Chemnitius*
 vvittnesseth *l. de Cana, p. 214.* that Carolos-
 tad vvas vvont to boast, that he had his ex-
 position by reuelation.

Hear rests yet one vvound to cure. B.
 Murton in his *Apol. l. 2. part. 1.* dothe not
 ansvver it, but euadeth by retorting a re-
 port of Delrius (*l. 4. de magia c. 1.*) that
 the deucl appeared to an abbot, and per-
 svvaded hym to say mass. So hear is *quid*
pro quo. bycaus vve obiect, that Luther
 vvas taught by the deucl to oppugn the
 Mass: he shovveth, likevvise vvhear the
 deucl persvveded one to say Mass.

But the case is not alike; he erred, it
 vvas not an Abbot, but a monk. 1. the
 sayd Simeon vvas not yet preast, and so it
 vvas against the Canons for hym to say
 Mass, and a sinn: and therfor the deucl tem-
 pted hym to it (and this he leaueth ovvt, as
 not for his turn to be remembred.) 3. Nei-
 ther is ther hear anie disputation, to ap-
 prooue or disprooue the Masse. 4. Neither
 ded the partie assent to the deucl. 5. Nei-
 ther ded the Masse, beginn then first. And

so he both mistaketh, and sayleth of his purpose.

But to shovv the error of Fulk, and Dr. Sutclif: Luthers ovvn vvords fullie clear all. *Contigu me sub mediam noctem, subito, expergesieri*: so ther is the tyme (at Mid-night:) and that it vvas not a dream, (*expergesieri*) prooves it: and the manner (*subito*.) And he mayd that book, 1521. after his revolt from the Church. Besides he yealded not at first, nor was not of the deuels opinion and gaue his reasons for it, *sum vnclū Sacerdos, &c.* and the deucl stronglie opposed hym vvith the verrie arguments vied by the confession of. Auspurg. And to show that it was neither a dreame, nor a spiritual conflict, saith he (when he was overcome,) *at hic ridebunt sancti patres, &c. an ignoras diabolum esse mendacem.* And then he showeth, that his lies ar not *simplicis artificij, sed instructiora ad fallendum.* So vobis *justinendi est ne ūctus diaboli*, yow could not sing the song of the Church. And his manner he reueals, *se adoritur ut apprehendat aliquam & solidam veritatem.* So it is certain it was a personal conflict. And yf it had been a dream what is the difference, whether the deucl seduced hym, sleaping or avvakened? the ministers of Zurich, insinuate so much. *tract. 3. confes. Lutheri.* Say they how

how maruellouſſie, hear doth Luther bewray hym ſelf with his deuels, *quam impuris uisum uerbis, quot demonibus crepat?* and in an other place, of the ſame book. *Edidit L. librum, in quo condemnat Swinglium & Oecolompadium, liber plenus eſt demonijs, impudicis dictarijs, &c.* So by the opinion of the Swinglians, (the Tigurines;) it was not thought as a dreame, or a concept, that Luther had conferenc with deuels. And Schulſelburg in *Theol. Caluanist. proemio*, recompenceth the Tigurines with the like charitie: *diabolus ipſiſimum, Swingli o per ſomnium, ſuam hæreſim Sacramentariam inſpiraffe:* and Luthers objects the like tom. 7. Witteberg. fol. 386. againſt the Phaſe, reuealed to Swinglius. So on both ſydes, hear at deuels in the playe; and ther familiaritie with hym, induceth me, to diſtruſt, yf not to condemn them both.

And ſurelie, yf ther wear no other argument, to prooue that the Deuſel had ſchooled, and taught Luther his diuinitie; the ſects, tumults, diſcord, begotten by hym, and that iſſewed owt of his brain, doe approve it. *Documenta damnis, qua ſumus originati.* As yf his ſectaries, had bean like Cadmus his iſſew, *homines clipeati*, grovven owt of the earth, whear the vipers teath wear ſowen. and Luther the Cadmus, and

4.
The diu-
ſions, ſects,
tumults,
raiſed by
Luther.

cawſe of all, for in temporall matters, *origo damni, eſt cauſa peccati*. And this diſcord and diuiſion, was among his diſciples euen from the beginning, from the cradl.

D. Whitacre, in his preface to w. Raynolds, excuſeth yt thus. pag. 8. greater difference ſhall he not ſynd, among the trew profeſſors of the goſpel, and Churches reformed, then may be among the children of God. About the paſſeouer in the eaſt and weſt Churches, ther was bitter diſſenſiō, yet they ceaſed not to be Churches of Chriſt. Perſect concord is not to be hoped for, &c. S. Peter and Paul, Auguſtin and Hierom diſagreed. And afterward. yet by Gods grace, all Churches reformed agree ſoundlie in matters of faith, ſubſtancial, and neceſſarie to ſaluation. So 1. he denieth that ther is anie ſuch diſcord 2. that all Churches reformed agree ſouyndlie in matters of faith. 3. by exampls he extenuates ther diuiſions.

And Gualter profeſſeth in pſefat. *Ep. ad Rom.* that there is good agreement for all articles among them, *ſola Sacramentaria uelitatione excepta*. I wonder of this confidence, and bold aſſeueration, in a matter ſo cleare. It is trew, the varianc between the two Apoſtles, and between theſe two Doctors of the Church, was great: but as it ded neither

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neither break ther vnion, nor hinder ther communion, nor mayd anie sects: so also, it was managed with such Christian modestie, and temper, as ded not stain ther profession. and when that is prooued, D. Wh. haith his answer. and to prooue yt, look vpon the *disorder* and *discord*, between the Lutherans and Sacramentaries, how vvhote fyres haue bean kindled among them, and how long? vvhath care was taken, at Swabach, at Marpurg, at Smalcald, and at Mompelgart, to haue reconciled thē: and they parted euer with so litl charitie, that the world had no cause to hope for anie vnitie. And for ther harmonie how soundlie they agree in matters of faith, as D. Whitacre affirmeth, yow shall best fynd by Schlüsselberg his works, whearby it is mayd manifest that they varie, in these poynts, *de omnipotencia Christi*, of *predestination*, of the force of Baptism, of the Eucharist and reall presenc, whether Christ dyed for all men, of original sinn, in ther discipline, in ther liturgies, touching images, &c. and at all these trifles? The Palatinate Churches, in ther act. (as I haue showed before) would not permit the Lutherans, and forbad ther books: *totus Lutheranismus ē medio tollatur*, generallie and preciselie; and yet doe they agree soundlie? Philip Nicholai, rector
of

of Tubing, a famous Lutheran, accuseth the Calvinists of Arrianism: *Henricus Petri* prooueth at large *Nestorianismum Caluini*. A great learned man in E. affirmed, that those Lutherans did object it in spirit of opposition: and whether they iudged right or no, is another question. another answered, they wear but their priuate opinions, and not to be regarded. So then you confess their spirit of opposition, there contrarieties and warrs, which is that I desire and labour to prooue, (whether rightlie or wrongfullie, is not pertinent to my question.) yet neither is it onely their priuate opinion, but the publick doctrine of all their congregations. Albert Grawer rector of Magdeburg, maintaineth as much as I affirm, libro Called. *Bellum Iohannis Caluini & Christi*. *Agid. Hunnius*, describeth how Calvin doth Iudaize; and that learnedlie, and with applause. And Luthers own warrant, mark it no priuate quarrel. Se his confess. se his *Theses contra art. Loman. thes. 27. hereticos serio censemus, & alienos ab Ecclesia Dei Suringium. & sacramentarios omnes*. And in another place, *Beatus vir, qui non abist in consilio Sacramentariorum. &c. lib. de cana Domini. Fateor me Suringium non amplius in Christianorum numerum referre posse. &c.* And on the contrarie syde, the *Tigurini* *tract.*

tract.
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tratt. 3. contra Luth. confeſſ. ar as vehement.
 let Luther look (ſay they) he doe not de-
 clare hym ſelf an archeheretick, ſeing he wil
 not haue ſocietie vvith the profeſſors of
 Chriſt. Calvin, notes hym, for a man
 diſtempered: & minus excuſabilis inconfiderati
 zeli feruor. ut pollet eximijis virtutibus, ita ma-
 gnis vitijs laborat. Daniel Toſianus, acculeth
 hym, maligni ſpiritus inſinellu, to patroniſe
 his followers, againſt the Sacramentaries.
 Bucer contra Melanctih. accuſatur Lutherus ab
 omnibus imperioſa dicacitatis. Campanus ſaith
 that diabolicus mendax eſt Lutherus. Swin-
 glius tells Luther, demonſtrabo te, Euangelij
 ſplendorem, nunquam adhuc plene cognouiſſe.
 Oecolompad reſp. ad Luth. confeſſ. priorem
 illum librum à demone auſpicatur, hunc vero
 eiſdem auſpicijs abſoluit. Is this vnitie, ar
 both theſe in Noahs ark? is Chriſt deuided?
 Bonum ſemper malo contrarium eſt, malum
 nunc bono nunc malo: ſo they incline to the
 malum for they ar violent in ther ciuil war-
 res, and yet as furious againſt the Catho-
 licks. I will now conclude for Luther, that
 he vv as farr from the vertues, ſpirit, and
 wiſedome of an immediat vocation from
 God. For, yf yow commend Moyſes he
 ſaith, nihil ad nos pertinet. Vide ut ſis prudens,
 & Moyſem cum lege ſua longiſſimè amoliri, &
 in malam rem abire iubeas: neque quicquam
 illius

Serm. de
 Moyſe &
 ad Galat.

*Admonit.
ad Argen-
tin 12m. 3.*

illius terrore & minis monearis. non mihi sed
Iudais Mosem tuum predica. Yf yow magni-
fie the lyfe of Christ, he tells yow non esse
hominibus opera Christi inculcanda, & exem-
plarius. Christi enim opera minimam & vilis-
simam particulam in Christo, eaque in re Chri-
stum ceteris sanctis Parens e. And in an
other place. Non multum mihi opera Christi
profunt: sed verba eius. Touching the Trini-
tie, he likes it not, *vocula hac nunquam in scri-
pturis repetitur.* It is Mans inuention, &
frigide sonat, and therfor he put it owt of
the Letanie. and bycause he vvil stop your
mouth from alledging the council of Ni-
ce, he saith, *Nullum vidi concilium, in quo
Spiritus sanctus reperitur.* Yf yow praise our
ladie, he saith, *sumus pares matri Christi, &
aquis sanctis ac illa.* But aboue all other things
this is to be noted, that God ded not reueal
vnto hym, his secrets, and inspire hym
with perfection at first, as he ded S. Paul,
and the prophets and Apostls. For Luther
confesseth of hym self, at first, *fouebat me
aura popularis*: and, *per imprudentiam in istam
causam lapsus.* and l. de sermo arbit. *ego ultra
decennium motus eram auctoritate Ecclesia tam
confidens & certus non fui.* This dopocagione
assureth me, he was not called immediat-
lie of God, nor, can he no other then an
impostor for challenging it. I will con-

*Serm. de
mat. Maria.*

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clude with the relation of his own vertues;
for of hym ſelf he geues this euident. in
Coll. Francof. f. 445. Nihil ſingulare in vita
mea eminet, poſſum iocari, potare, ſum facetus
conuinator, ſapinſque bene bonum hauſum ce-
renſa facio in Dei gloriam. ſcilicet. He pro-
feſſeth hym ſelf a good companyon, and
that he doth oft carrous and drink largelie
a health to the glorie of God. And yf yow
read all the Eccleſiaſtical ſtorie, yow ſhall
not tynd ſuch a ruſſianlie phraſe, and paſſa-
ge of vanitie: and ſo, I leaue hym to Cle-
bitius his prophecie. who haith foretold
the ruine of the Pope of Saxonie.

FINIS.

APPRO.

APPROBATIO.

Litterum hunc Anglico idiomate ad Serenissimum
Vallæ Principem, Iacobi primi magnæ Bri-
tanniæ Regis filium scriptum, cum aliter mihi
quàm ex aliena fide censere probaréue non liceat:
quia talis reuerendi atque eruditi viri, natione An-
gli, D. Leandri de S. Martino, Prioris Benedic-
torum S. Gregorij Duaci, nunc absentis, qui librum
integrum accuratè legit, per ipsius ad me, ante menses
aliquot, literas esse renunciatus est, qui magno in Rêp.
Christianam vsui futurus sit, vt qui præterquam quod
eleganti ac modesto stylo scriptus, optimisationibus,
ex rerum hoc seculo gestarum comparatione desum-
ptis, quàm perniciosa fuerit Angliæ professio hare-
sis, quàm contra salutaris ipsi Catholico-Romana
fides: quàm fida ipsi Romæ & Hispaniæ amicitia,
quàm contra pestida, infirma, & damnosa hæretico-
rum confederatio sit doceat, multaq; in atq; cum pro-
ferat, quæ hactenus aut latuerunt in scrinijs aulicis, aut
longè aliter quàm acta fuere, narrata & credita sunt,
atque ita multis clausos hactenus oculos aperturus sit:
propterea fit, vt tam graui & accurato tanti viri testi-
monio fretus, calculum meum hic adijciam, vt di-
gnum prælo, & qui multo cum fructu legi possit, esse
assererem. Actum Tornaci 15. Maij, anno 1623.

I. BOUCHER, S. Theol. Doct.
Can. & Archid. Tornacens.

Blame not my vwill , but my
vvants ; that the Latin is not trans-
lated into English : I had not paper,
nor means , (being stinted.)

Charters. 239
annulled.

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